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THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE,
FROM THE
MOST EARLY RECORDS,
TO THE
DEATH OF LOUIS XVI.

THE ANCIENT PART
BY *WILLIAM BECKFORD*, Esq.
AUTHOR OF
A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

THE MODERN PART
BY AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN,
WHO HAS BEEN SOME TIME RESIDENT IN PARIS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOLUME III.

ENRICHED WITH HISTORICAL ENGRAVINGS FROM THE ORIGINAL
DRAWINGS OF EURNÉY, CORBOULD, RYLEY, RICHTER,
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C O N T E N T S

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE REIGN OF JOHN THE SECOND.

John John crowned at Rheims—The execution of the Count of Eu—
1. The Order of the Star—The war continues in Brittany, and
in Guienne—Guifnes surprised by Aimery—His defeat at
Saint Omers, and death—Character of the King of Navarre
—He causes the Constable to be assassinated—Compels the
King to pardon him—His intrigues with the English Monarch
—Hostilities commenced by Edward, who carries his ravages
to the borders of Picardy—John assembles the States—The
King of Navarre seduces the Dauphin to his party—The
treachery of the latter, and the severity of John—The war
in Normandy—The Black Prince penetrates into Poitou—
His retreat intercepted by the French Monarch—The battle
of Maupertuis, or Poitiers—The defeat, and capture of
John—The magnanimity of the Prince of Wales—The
Dauphin assumes the government—Assembly of the States—
The Dauphin repairs to Metz—Disturbances in Paris—
Affairs of Normandy and Brittany—A truce—John is re-
moved to London—The Parisians fortify their city—Com-
motions there—The King of Navarre recovers his liberty—
His conduct—The companies—The States held at Compiègne
A —The

—The Jacquerie—Attempt upon Meaux—Disorders continue in Paris—Marcel slain—A peace with the King of Navarre—The King of England recommences hostilities—His devastations—The peace of Bretigny—John returns to France—The misery of that kingdom—Burgundy united to the Crown—That duchy granted to Philip—John goes to Avignon—Undertakes a crusade—Repairs to England—His death and character. - - Page 9

C H A P T E R XXXII.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIFTH, SURNAMED THE WISE.

Reflections on the errors of the preceding reigns—The accession of Charles—Advantages obtained in Normandy—The war in Brittany—The battle of Auray—Death of Charles of Blois—Treaty of Guerrand—Ravage of the Companies—Henry of Castile takes them into his service, and with the assistance of Du Guesclin obtains the Castilian crown—Peter the Cruel, with the support of the Prince of Wales, gains the battle of Navarrette, and recovers his dominions—The cruelty and ingratitude of that Prince—He is slain by Henry—who is raised to the vacant throne—The French Monarch receives the complaints of the disaffected inhabitants of Aquitaine—He summons the Prince of Wales to his Court of Peers—Declares war against the King of England—The submission of Ponthieu—Fruitless expedition of the Duke of Lancaster—Death of Chandos—The assembly of the States—The rapid progress of the Gallic arms under Du Guesclin—Severity of the Prince of Wales at Limoges—Dispersion of the armament led by Sir Robert Knolles—The English fleet captured by that of Castile—Success of the Constable beyond the Loire—The Captal de Buch taken—Fruitless attempts of Edward—Brittany overrun by Du Guesclin—A truce—Death of the Prince of Wales, and the King of England—Hostilities re-commenced—

commenced—Process against the King of Navarre—who loses his possessions in the Gallic dominions—The French Monarch fails in his attempt to re-annex Brittany to his crown—Montfort is restored—Death of Du Guesclin—Invasion of the English—The death and character of Charles. Page 57

C H A P T E R XXXIII.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE SIXTH.

The disputes and characters of the uncles of the young Monarch—the Duke of Anjou Regent—Tumults—The coronation of Charles—The English army retire into Brittany—A truce—Affairs of the Pontificate—Sedition of the Mallotins—The Duke of Anjou nominated successor to Joan, Queen of Naples—The fate of that Princess; and the departure of the Duke—The Flemish war—The severity exercised upon the Parisians—Hostilities between France and England—A truce—The fate of the Duke of Anjou—Three unsuccessful attempts to invade England—Charles assumes the reins of government—Festivities of the Court—His expeditions to Avignon, and into Languedoc—The expedition of the Duke of Bourbon—Assassination of the Constable—War with Brittany prevented by the frenzy of the King—The Dukes of Berry and Burgundy assume the government—Strange accident, and relapse of Charles—An interview, and truce with Richard, King of England—Genoa acknowledges the sovereignty of France—Military exploits—The struggles of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy for the government—Death of the latter—John, his son and successor, aspires to the administration—Assassination of the Duke of Orleans—Its consequences—Genoa revolts—Civil war—Disorders in Paris—Invasion of France by Henry the Fifth—Battle of Azincour—A truce—Civil war recommenced—The demise of the Dauphins, Lewis, and John—The severe administration of the Count of Armagnac—Isabel is confined—Invites the Duke of Burgundy to her relief—The progress of his arms—The English Monarch again invades France—His success—The

misery of the kingdom—Dreadful massacres in Paris—The triumph of the Burgundians—Assassination of the Duke of Burgundy—The violent proceedings in consequence of that event—The treaty of Troyes—The King of England assumes the administration—The condemnation of the Dauphin—He supports a defensive war—The progress of Henry—The demise of that Prince—The Duke of Bedford Regent—Death, and character of Charles. - - Page 96

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE REIGNS OF CHARLES VII. LEWIS XI. CHARLES VIII. AND LEWIS XII.

Maid of Orleans—Charles crowned at Rheims—Henry VI. crowned at Paris—English quit France—The League—English land in France—Provence, &c. added to the French Crown—French invade Naples—Return to France—Popularity of Lewis XII.—Brittany added to the French Crown—Lewis seizes Milan—Attacks Spain, and defeated—Naples taken—Genoa revolts—League of Cambray—Venetians defeated—Holy League against France—The Pope takes Mirandola—Allies defeated—Gaston de Foix killed—Milan and Navarre taken—Henry VIII. of England invades France—Battle of Spurs—Swift bought off—Death of the Queen—Lewis settles his family—Marries the Princess Mary of England—Dies. - - - Page 161

CHAPTER XXXV.

REIGN OF FRANCIS I.

Battle of Marignan—Francis takes Milan—Buys Tournay—Declares war against Charles V.—Recovers Navarre, and loses Tournay—Loses Milan—Alliance against him—Defeated at Pavia, and made prisoner—Released by treaty—Holy League—Francis joins the League—Takes Milan—Lays siege to Naples—Francis's sons released—War renewed—Charles invades France, and is twice defeated—

Peace between Francis and Charles—War renewed—Battle in Piedmont—Alliance between Charles and Henry—France invaded. - - - Page 181

C H A P T E R XXXVI.

THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND FRANCIS II.

Henry punishes Bourdeaux—Regains Boulogne—Attacks the Emperor—Returns to France—Sienna taken—Battle of Marciano—Charles V. regains his crown—Truce—Truce broken—Battle of St. Quintin—Calais taken from the English, and all their possessions in France—Battle of Gravelines—Dauphin married to Mary Queen of Scots—Treaty of Cambray—Death of Henry—His character and family—Francis II.—State of the House of Bourbon—Arts of the Queen Mother—Death and character of Francis II. - Page 189

C H A P T E R XXXVII.

REIGN OF CHARLES IX.

Arts of the Queen Mother—Cause and Progress of the Civil Wars; particularly against the Hugonots—Massacre at Paris—Death of Charles, with anecdotes and reflexions. Page 200

C H A P T E R XXXVIII.

REIGN OF HENRY III.

Hugonots encrease—Peace with them—Party called the Union—Fresh war with the Hugonots—Duke of Guise and his brother assassinated—The King assassinated—Circumstances of his death—His character. - - - Page 213

CHAPTER

The King's suspicions of Marshal Biron—Biron sent to the Bastille—His trial and execution. - Page 246

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY IV.

Edict against Duelling—The King establishes the silk trade—He is reconciled to the Jesuits—Death of Elizabeth, Queen of England—His treaty with James the First—Dispute with Spain.—Henry's domestic disagreements—Rochelle satisfied—Attempt to assassinate him—The Duke de Bouillon reconciled to the King—The King narrowly escapes being drowned—Birth of the Duke of Orleans—The King's credit with the Protestants—Truce between the Dutch and the Spaniards—His desire of establishing a system of general peace—His passion for the Princess of Condé—His assassination by Ravillac. - Page 309

C H A P T E R XLI.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII. SURNAMED THE JUST.

Duke of Sully resigns—Conchini made Marshal of France—The King marries, and assumes the government—Rise of Luynes—Assassination of the Marshal—Queen Mother retires—Luynes dies—His hatred to the Protestants—Bishop of Lucon made Cardinal Richelieu—His hatred to the Protestants—Siege of Rochelle—Marriage between Charles I. King of England, and Henrietta Maria of France—War against the Protestants. Page 351

C H A P T E R XLII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.

Peace made by the Pope—Vicious character of the French Court—Marriage of the Duke of Orleans—Conspiracy against the Cardinal—Assembl of the Notables—Richelieu made

made Grand Master of the Marine—His views—Duke of Buckingham comes to France—Richelieu makes treaties with Spain and Holland—English fleet sent to Rochelle—Siege of Rochelle—Rochelle taken—New Duke of Mantua—Pafs of Vuza forced—Duke of Rohan submits—French army sent to Italy—First appearance of Mazarine—Casal taken—The Cardinal in danger—Cabals at Court—Treaties with Sweden and Bavaria—Queen-mother flies to Flanders—The Cardinal made a Duke—Montmorency beheaded. Page 364

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.

Double league for religion—New Parliament at Metz—War between France and Lorrain—Changes at Court—Duke of Lorrain resigns to his brother—Swedes defeated at Norlingen—Marriage of the Duke of Orleans declared to be a rape—War with Spain—The Italian league—Duke of Orleans dissatisfied—War continued—Plot against the Cardinal—Progress of the war—Italian league dissolved—Campaign in the Low Countries—The Cardinal succeeds against his enemies—Progress of the war—Birth of the Dauphin—Affairs of Piedmont—War with Spain—The Cardinal's power—Insurrection in Normandy—Spanish fleet defeated—Arras taken—Measures against Spain—End of the campaign—Campaign in Catalonia—Treaty with Lorrain and Portugal—War of Sedan—Campaign in the Low Countries—Good fortune of the Cardinal—Campaign of Perpignan—Monsieur le Grand and Monsieur de Thou arrested and beheaded—Death of Cardinal Richelieu—Despotism of the King—Death of Lewis XIII. Page 398

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE REIGN OF JOHN THE SECOND.

John crowned at Rheims—The execution of the Count of Eu—The Order of the Star—The war continues in Brittany, and in Guienne—Guines surprised by Aimery—His defeat at Saint Omers, and death—Character of the King of Navarre—He causes the constable to be assassinated—Compels the King to pardon him—His intrigues with the English Monarch—Hostilities commenced by Edward, who carries his ravages to the borders of Picardy—John assembles the States—The King of Navarre seduces the Dauphin to his party—The treachery of the latter, and the severity of John—The war in Normandy—The Black Prince penetrates into Poitou—His retreat intercepted by the French Monarch—The battle of Maupertuis, or Poitiers—The defeat, and capture of John—The magnanimity of the Prince of Wales—The Dauphin assumes the government—Assembly of the States—The Dauphin repairs to Metz—Disturbances in Paris—Affairs of Normandy, and Brittany—A truce—John is removed to London—The Parisians fortify their city—Comotions there—The King of Navarre recovers his liberty—His conduct—The companies—The States held at Compiègne—The Jacquetierie—Attempt upon Meaux—Disorders continue in Paris—Marcel slain—A peace with the King of Navarre—The King of England recommences hostilities—His devastations—The peace of Bretigny—John returns to France—The misery of that kingdom—Burgundy united to the Crown—That duchy granted to Philip—John goes to Avignon—Undertakes a Crusade—Repairs to England—His death and character.

ENFEEBLED by the misfortunes of the last reign, the French nation were willing to catch a
A. D. 1350.

A. D.
1350.

ray of hope through the gloom by which they were surrounded; and to flatter themselves, that, under the administration of the successor of Philip, they should enjoy a more happy and a more tranquil government, than that which they had so recently experienced. John, at his accession to the Gallic throne, was in the thirty-first, or, according to others, in the forty-first year of his age. Having been permitted some share in the administration of his father, it was naturally supposed that he would be more equal to encounter the cares, and to conduct the reins of monarchy, than had been many of the antecedent Princes of the Capetian race; and, in the command of the army with which he had been intrusted, he had not, in any instance, been found deficient, either in conduct or in courage. With his consort, Jane of Boulogne, whom he had recently espoused, the French Monarch celebrated the ceremony of his coronation at Rheims, with a magnificence and a profusion unknown to his predecessors; and, upon his return to his capital, where those recent scenes of festivity and rejoicings were renewed, he commenced his administration by one of those unjustifiable instances of arbitrary power, to which the example had been given by Philip, the late Sovereign.

Raoul, Count of Eu, and Guines, and constable of France, had been detained in England since his capture by Edward at Caen. To negotiate for his ransom, and to confirm and prolong, by the desire

desire of the English Monarch, the truce, he had been permitted to repair to Paris; where, soon after his arrival, he was seized, imprisoned, and, in a few days, without the common observance of justice, beheaded by the command of the King. It was pretended, but unsupported by contemporary historians, that he had entered into a secret treaty with Edward, to deliver to him his county of Guisnes, important from its approximate situation to Calais. His possessions and effects were confiscated, and divided among the favourites of the Court. Charles, the brother of Lewis de la Cerda, and the imputed instigator to the deed, obtained the vacant dignity of constable; to John of Artois was given the county of Eu; and that of Guisnes was re-united to the demesnes of the crown.

A. D.
1351—3.

The irregularity of this proceeding could not fail to excite an universal disaffection. The nobles were alarmed at so dangerous a precedent; and John, sensible of the justice of their fears; to efface these impressions, and with the hope of conciliating and attaching them to his person, among a variety of court-diversions, instituted the Order of the Star, in imitation of that of the Garter, recently adopted by the King of England: but, to depreciate, as he supposed, that of his rival, instead of twenty-five, the contracted number appointed by Edward, he created five hundred Knights Companions. Thus multiplied to excess, it lost its

A. D. value, and was annihilated almost at the com-
 1551—3. mencement of its institution.

The truce, which still subsisted, suspended not the war in Brittany, where a variety of useless skirmishes served but to redouble the fury of the parties of Blois, and Montfort, without any decisive advantages obtained on either side ; and which recalled to the remembrance the indiscriminate slaughter and the piratical incursions of the Normans, under the reigns of the Princes of the Carlovingian line. Hostilities were likewise still pursued in Guienne. In a bloody engagement in Xaintonge, the Marshal, Guy of Nefle, was vanquished and taken prisoner : —a loss but poorly compensated by the surrender of Saint John of Angely to the Gallic arms.

The surprise and capture of Guisnes by Aimery, governor of Calais, through the treachery of Beaucourray, the commander of the town, was followed by a like attempt upon Saint Omers ; but Charni, to whom that important fortress had been intrusted, apprised of the secret correspondence of the enemy, suffered his adversary to advance ; when, having, by a detachment under Marshal Beaulieu, cut off his retreat, he issued from the city, and an obstinate engagement ensued. The better fortune of the French general prevailed ; and Aimery, defeated and taken prisoner, was doomed to satiate the vengeance of the victor, who commanded him to be torn to pieces by wild horses—a signal instance of ferocity for an intended treachery, to which he
 himself

himself had, some few years back, given the precedent !

A. D.
1351-53.

Aroused by these attempts, the French Monarch remonstrated against the various infractions of the truce; but Edward insultingly replied, that, taught by the example of Philip, he did not suppose that treaties were either broken by the capture, or by the sale of towns. The weakness of the kingdom, desolated by a famine which had obliged John to remit many of those taxes imposed in the last reign, compelled that Prince, although by no means deficient in spirit, to dissemble the resentment he experienced from the treachery of the King of England.

His embarrassments were further increased by a domestic enemy, the chief source of the calamities of this reign. Charles, King of Navarre, justly furnished the wicked, was the son of the Count of Evreux, and Jane, the daughter of Lewis the Tenth; and possessed, with that kingdom, a considerable inheritance in the dominions of the French Monarch. With the influence he enjoyed, he united all those qualities which, in an ill-turned mind, may be directed so much to the prejudice of society—sense, spirit, address, and eloquence; inexhaustible in his resources, and, withal, one of the most comely men of the age: in opposition to these endowments, he was turbulent, perfidious, cruel, vindictive, and unrestrained by any principles of duty. At the commencement of his reign, the French Monarch had been prevailed upon to give

A. D. 1351—3. him his eldest daughter, Joan, in marriage; and it appears, however unjustifiable may have been the conduct of the Prince, that the first cause of offence had proceeded from the King, in his transfer of the county of Angoulême to his favourite, Charles de la Cerda; those territories having been granted by Philip of Valois, to the late Queen of Navarre, as an indemnification for Champagne, and Brie, which had been ceded, by that Princess, to the Gallic Crown.

The elevation to the dignity of constable, and the infatuated partiality of the King to Charles de la Cerda, by whose counsels he was solely directed, had excited the jealousy, as the disaffection, of the nobles; but above all, the King of Navarre, so nearly allied to the Monarch, supported with impatience his decided preference. The recent grant of Angoulême, which he considered as wrested from his territories, with an open rupture that had arisen between himself and the favourite, in which John had taken a decided part against him, were sufficient to awaken the resentment of the Prince. Withdrawing himself from the Court, and determined upon vengeance, he found the means to complete the assassination of his rival. The grief and the resentment of the King may be readily conceived; but such was the dangerous influence of his adversary, that he was compelled to submit to the humiliation of delivering up his second son, as an hostage for the safety of the Navarrese Prince; who

who repaired to the capital, to attend a mock trial for the crime he had committed, and to receive the forgiveness of his injured sovereign.

A. D.

1354.

This forced reconciliation did not long continue. Apprised of his secret correspondence, through the medium of the Earl of Lancaster, then at Avignon, with the English Court, John sent a force into Normandy to attack the possessions of the King of Navarre in that quarter: but Charles, having assembled, in his regal dominions, a considerable armament, and the King of England having prepared a vigorous support with which to second his new ally, he was obliged, once more, to enter into an ignominious negotiation. With an indemnity to all his adherents, it was stipulated, that the sum of one hundred thousand crowns should be disbursed to the Navarrese Prince, to insure his future forbearance: and, when the Gallic Monarch received a list of three hundred persons to whom he was required to accord his pardon, he had the mortification to find the names of many of those noblemen, who, either about his person, or in places of trust, had been the most highly in his confidence! Can we then be surprised at the subsequent disgraces of his reign?

The truce between the two kingdoms, which had been so frequently renewed, and so ill observed on the part of England, being expired, the English Monarch, whose preparations, notwithstanding his negotiations, had announced his intentions of sup-

A. D.
1355.

porting the malcontents in France, purposed to attack the French dominions, both on the side of Guienne, and on that of Calais. With a numerous army he penetrated into France; ravaged, with impunity, the Boulonois, Artois; and advanced as far as Hesden, on the frontiers of Piccardy. John, assembling his forces, challenged his rival to a decisive action, or to a private duel—an unmeaning defiance, common in those days, which implied nothing more than to draw the adversary from some favourable situation, and to induce him to engage at a disadvantage: but Edward, aware of his intention, declined an engagement; and, upon the news of the capture of Berwic, by the Scots, he repassed the sea. The Prince of Wales, in the mean time, in a like irruption into Languedoc, desolated the vicinity of Thoulouse, Narbonne, Carcassone, and pursued his devastations without meeting with any obstacle to obstruct his wanton and indiscriminate slaughter.

Unpopular in his dominions, and having found the impracticability of raising the means to carry on the war, John was obliged, as his last resource, to depend entirely upon the good-will and loyalty of his subjects; and, in the autumn of the year, convoked the three estates of his kingdom—the most respectable meeting that had been assembled from the commencement of their institution. They unanimously consented to an immediate supply, to support the necessities of the State; but, at the same time,

time, insisted upon a full and speedy redress of their grievances, which the King, and Charles the Dauphin, engaged themselves, by a solemn oath, should be conceded. In confidence of their promises, the Gabelle upon salt was renewed ; and, with a capitulation tax, and other imposts, the members appointed a committee of accounts, for levying, applying, and distributing the grants they had made : a measure which the King, from the unhappy situation of his kingdom, ventured not, at that time, to oppose.

Notwithstanding the late accommodation, the King of Navarre had commenced his intrigues. His emissaries procured him partisans in every part of the kingdom ; and he contrived, by his address, to seduce from his duty the eldest son of the Gallic Monarch, a youth of seventeen years of age ; but who, soon made sensible of the danger, as folly, of intrusting his person to the discretion of this perfidious Prince, avowed his connexions, and atoned for his offence by the sacrifice of his associates. Having succeeded in persuading Charles that he was still attached to his cause, he at the same time concerted with his father, upon the means to secure the person of their most dangerous enemy. The Dauphin had been recently invested with the duchy of Normandy, and had established his court at Rouen ; where, in confidence of his sincerity, the Navarrese Prince had consented to accept of a splendid entertainment. John, apprised of the event,

A. D.
1356.

A. D.

1356.

event, advanced, the night before, to a small village in the vicinity of the town; and, on the ensuing day, accompanied by a chosen band of his followers, entered, undiscovered by the partisans of the royal guest, into the castle, and surprised the visitants as they were preparing to partake of the repast to which they had been invited. Charles, with the nobles of his party, were immediately seized; the most obnoxious of whom, Lewis of Harcourt, Graville, Maubue de Mennemaïres, and Oliver Doublet, were conveyed without the walls of the town, decapitated in the presence of the King and his son; and their leader, conducted under a strong guard to Chateau-Gaillard, was from thence, soon after, removed to the Châtelet, at Paris.

This hasty proceeding of the Monarch, the treachery of the Dauphin, and a recent instance of severity at Arras, were far from proving decisive in maintaining the royal authority. Philip, the brother of the captive Prince, with Geoffry of Harcourt, who had, in the last reign, brought the English into Normandy, were no sooner informed of the scene that had past at Rouën, than they flew to arms, provided for the security of the frontiers; and, having fortified themselves in the Cotentin, received from all quarters the partisans of Charles; and, as an infallible resource, made immediate application for the assistance of the English Monarch. With a reinforcement from that Prince, commanded
by

by the Duke of Lancaster, the malcontents compelled the royal troops, which had reduced to ashes the city of Evreux, to retreat from the siege of Audemar; and captured the town of Verneuil. John, having re-assembled his army, passed the Seine, and advanced to meet the enemy; but, not being able to bring them to an engagement, in his return to Paris he captured Tillieres, and forced the town of Breteuil to surrender.

A. D.
1356.

During the operation of this siege, the Prince of Wales, having passed the Garonne, had made successful inroads into the provinces of Auvergne, Limousin, and Berry: but the fortresses of Issoudun, and Bourges, however vigorous his attempts, had had resisted the power of his arms. With an intention to join the forces of the Duke of Lancaster in Perche, he had advanced further into the Gallic dominions than could be justified by prudence; and, foreseeing the impracticability of his enterprise, as all the bridges on the Loire were either destroyed, or strongly guarded, he resolved to return to Bourdeaux, through the provinces of Touraine, and Poitou.

Having received intelligence of the approach of the Gallic Monarch, with a prodigious force, he yet suffered himself to be detained by the siege and capture of the unimportant fortress of Romorantin; at which place he had employed a small train of artillery—the first mentioned by the French historians, as used for that particular purpose.

John,

A. D.
1356,
Sept. 17.



John, who had past the Loire with an army, at the most moderate computation, of sixty thousand cavalry, independently of his infantry, now expected to reap some signal advantage from the impetuous valour of his antagonist; and the youthful warrior, who had, by forced marches, endeavoured to recover the important moments he had sacrificed, found, upon his arrival at Maupertuis, two leagues from Poitiers, that the King had already anticipated his intended route, and had arrived on the opposite side of the wood, but a few hours before his approach.

Invested by an army four times as numerous, and sensible that his retreat was now impracticable, the conduct and activity of Edward were never more conspicuously exerted, than at this dangerous crisis. The victory he had obtained in the fields of Creci, in which his father had been reduced to the same perilous situation, was yet fresh in his memory; and he prepared, with the most consummate prudence, to supply the deficiency of numbers by an arrangement that would have done honour to the most experienced commander. But the judicious plans of the Prince of Wales must have been wholly ineffectual to avert his impending ruin, had the French Monarch known how to have used the advantages that chance, rather than his own vigilance, had thrown in his way. The English army, fatigued by a long and painful march, exhausted by the scarcity of provisions and forage in those provinces

provinces through which they had passed; and surrounded, as they were, by the Gallic arms, must inevitably have been reduced, in the space of a few days, to surrender themselves at discretion.

A. D.
1356,
Sept. 17.

The ensuing morning, the French Monarch announced his intention to assault the camp of his adversary; who had chosen his situation upon a spot, rendered almost inaccessible by inclosures of hedges, bushes, and vines. At the head of one of the most flourishing armaments that had been ever assembled, he divided his forces into three separate bodies. The first he entrusted to the Duke of Orleans; the second moved under the orders of the Dauphin, with his brothers, Lewis and John: and the third he commanded himself, attended by Philip, his youngest and his favourite son, at that time in the fifteenth year of his age. Proceeding from rank to rank, the Gallic King endeavoured to animate his troops, by reminding them of the retribution justly due to their enemies, from whom they had sustained so many defeats, and who had involved their country in so many disasters. "Now," said he, "the day of vengeance is at hand, and I will set you a glorious example." They answered this short and military harangue, with shouts of zeal, and prognostications of triumph.

On the point of leading to the menaced contest, the operations of the French Monarch were suspended by the intervention of Tallrande, the Cardinal

A. D. Cardinal of Perigord, who had hastened to the
 1356, scene of action, to prevent, by his interposition;
 Sept. 17. the further effusion of Christian blood. With the
 consent of John, the spiritual mediator repaired to
 the English camp; where he found the Prince,
 although undaunted, yet conscious of the dangers
 by which he was surrounded, and willing to
 attend to any terms of accommodation, that could
 neither affect his personal honour, nor that of the
 English name. He offered to purchase a safe
 retreat to Bourdeaux, by the surrender of all the
 conquests he had made during the last, and the pre-
 sent, campaign; to restore the prisoners that had
 fallen into his hands; and engaged, that for the
 protracted period of seven years he would not bear
 arms against the dominions of his opponent. The
 Gallic Monarch rejected, with indignation, this
 proposition; insisted, that the son of Edward, with
 one hundred of his principal nobility and officers,
 should surrender themselves prisoners of war; and
 upon those terms he would permit the remainder of
 the English forces to retire, in safety, into the ter-
 ritories of the King of England. To this demand
 the gallant youth replied, that he would never be
 deprived of his liberty, but with his arms in his
 hands; nor should his country be obliged to pay
 the price of his ransom. Upon this spirited reply,
 all further hopes of accommodation being at an
 end, both sides prepared for battle. The day
 having been far spent in the various parleys that had
 intervened,

intervened, the Prince of Wales had leisure, during the night, to give additional strength to the post he had so judiciously chosen; and to contrive an ambuscade of three hundred archers, with a proportionable number of men at arms; who, under the command of John de Grailly, Captal de Buche, were directed to make a circuit of the hill, and in the height of the engagement to fall on the rear, or the flank of the French army, as he should judge it most expedient.

A. D.
1356,
Sept. 19.

So soon as the signal for the attack was given, two detachments, led by the Marshals Andreghen, and Clermont, who were destined to commence the action, advanced with intrepidity to the charge. To reach the enemy, it was necessary to proceed through a narrow lane, covered on either side by hedges. Scarcely were the French troops advanced into the defile, when the English archers, advantageously posted behind these natural entrenchments, began to pour their missive showers upon them; and, as their arrows were lanced from a short distance, they pierced, with equal certainty of aim, the horses and their riders, while they were placed in perfect security themselves. The two Marshals, with their detachments considerably diminished, pushed, however, gallantly forward to the end of the lane; where they were encountered by the Prince, at the head of the main body of the English army. They were quickly discomfited: Clermont fell a victim to his valor; Andreghen
surrendered.

A. D. 1356,
Sept. 19. surrendered himself a prisoner into the hands of his enemies; and this check, slight as it may appear to have been to the disproportionate numbers of the combatants, decided the fortune of the day.

Circumvented in the ardour of the first assault, those who were yet in the defile, unable to advance, and slaughtered with impunity by the archers, whom they could not annoy, recoiled upon the division led by the Dauphin. At this critical juncture, the six hundred English cavalry that had been stationed on the side of the hill, advanced with impetuosity upon the flank of the line, already embarrassed by this event, and completed the confusion. The Lords of Landas, Bodenoy, and Saint Venant, to whose care had been entrusted the sons of the King, too anxious for the safety of their charge, instead of an endeavour to remedy the disorder that had been occasioned by the attack of so small a detachment upon a body of twenty thousand men, hastily withdrew the Dauphin and his brothers from the field of contest. The Duke of Orleans, at the head of the second line, who had not yet taken any part in the action, caught the pusillanimous contagion; and, forgetting his birth and station, followed, at full speed, with his division, the irregular route of the fugitives. The Prince of Wales, encouraged by John Lord Chandos, who called to him that the day was won, directed the men at arms, who were on foot, to remount; and, collecting his forces, advanced to the line commanded by the
French

French Monarch; who, abandoned by four-fifths of his army, awaited with intrepidity the approach of his opponent; and here only may the battle be said to have commenced, as by this division alone was there any resistance made.

A. D.
1356,
Sept. 19.

The conflict was fierce and bloody. The King, who, with his detachment, was on foot, gave unequivocal proofs of intrepidity. A small body of German cavalry, which he placed in the front of his line, unable to second his personal exertions, gave ground. Their leaders were slain; the ranks were every moment thinned; and his son, exerting himself in a gallant perseverance in his defence, was severely wounded in the performance of this honourable service. Surrounded by the dying, the intrepid Monarch made incredible efforts to regain the honour which his troops had lost; but, overcome by fatigue, as overwhelmed by numbers, might easily have been slain, had not every opponent, anxious to take alive the royal warrior, exhorted him to surrender. Unwilling to resign his arms to any other than the English Prince, many who attempted to seize him were levelled, with his battle-ax, to the ground. At length, Denis of Morbec, a knight of Artois, who had been obliged to quit his country for a murder committed in a private war, advanced towards him; and, upon his pledge of honour, to conduct him in safety to the Prince, he threw down his gauntlet, and yielded himself his prisoner, with Philip, his son, who,

VOL. III.

C

although.

A. D. although of tender years, had signally distinguished himself upon this memorable day.
 1356,
 Sept. 19.

This engagement, which may be, with more propriety, styled that of Maupertuis, than that of Poitiers, it would be unjust to attribute to the better fortune of Edward, when prudence and valour were so eminently conspicuous. The loss to France, of those who were left on the field of battle, exceeded not six thousand men; but in that number may be included the flower of the Nobility, among the most distinguished of whom were the Dukes of Clermont, Bourbon, Athens, and Geoffry of Charni: but the prisoners were computed to exceed three-fold the army of the victors.


The Prince of Wales, who had been engaged in the pursuit of the fugitives, finding the field of battle entirely cleared, had ordered a tent to be pitched, and was reposing himself after the fatigues of the engagement;—still anxiously inquiring the fate of John; when the Earl of Warwick returned with the royal prisoner. That Nobleman had been dispatched by Edward, to ascertain the situation of the captive King; and arrived just in time to save him from becoming a sacrifice to the avarice of some English and Gascon soldiers, who, having forced him from Morbec, and dead to every sentiment of generosity and humanity, to end their disputes, proposed to put him to death. The remonstrances of Warwick terminated the contention; and he had the satisfaction to conduct the French



French Monarch in safety to the tent of the English Prince.

A. D.
1356,
Sept. 19.

The generous forbearance displayed by Edward upon this signal occasion, cannot be contemplated with too much complacency. It is not so much the acquirement of victory that marks the hero, as the benevolent use he makes of fortune. From a situation of actual despondency, upon the verge of destruction, we admire his prudence and his fortitude; engaged in battle, we applaud his conduct and his courage; and, as a victor, extol his moderation and humanity; the more conspicuously apparent, when we oppose, to the desperate crisis to which he was reduced, the unexpected as extraordinary success of his arms; and which might have been an apology for the most unbounded exultation. But the magnanimous Prince, incapable of adding insult to misfortune, came forward with respect and humility to meet his vanquished opponent; introduced him into his tent; with his own hands served him with refreshment; and endeavoured, by the most delicate assiduity, to dispel the affliction that sat upon the countenance of the unfortunate Monarch; bestowed a manly tribute of praise upon his perseverance and his valour; and ascribed the victory he had obtained, not to his own superiority of conduct, but to the caprice of fortune, or to the intervention of a superior Providence. In every respect, John shewed himself worthy of the courteous treatment which, in his
C 2 fallen

A.D. 1356,
Sept. 19.  fallen condition, he had experienced : he never forgot for a moment the dignity of his station ; and, although a prisoner, still remembered that he was a king. Sensibly affected by the generosity of the Prince, he involuntarily burst into tears of admiration ! repressed but by the natural reflection, that such heroism in an enemy might prove of dangerous, if not of destructive consequence, to his native country !

The English, and the Gascon Knights, proud to follow so illustrious an example, exerted the same humanity and forbearance towards their prisoners : their means were scrupulously ascertained ; their ransoms made to correspond with their fortunes ; and so numerous were the noble captives, and the spoils that had been accumulated, that the army of the victorious Prince, which had suffered very inconsiderably in the engagement, was amply requited for the dangers and difficulties that they had before encountered. The consternation occasioned by this fatal event, prevented any immediate effort on the part of France, to attempt a remedy to the evils that had been incurred ; and Edward, who might easily have been prevented, traversed, without opposition, the provinces of Poitou, Angoumois, and Saintonge, and arrived, with his royal prisoner, in safety at Bourdeaux.

The hopes and the dependance of the French nation, after these disasters, were naturally turned to Charles the Dauphin, who had not attained his
twentieth

twentieth year ; nor had his conduct been hitherto capable of inspiring confidence. His treachery at Rouen, his early flight from the field of battle, were no flattering prognostications of the qualities of his heart, or of his military talents. But his genius, forced to develop itself, was soon found equal to the arduous task which had now devolved upon him. After the retreat of the English, he returned to Paris ; and, having been, before the battle of Maupertuis, declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom, his first care was to convene the States, to consult on the deliverance of the King, and the necessary measures to be pursued for the preservation of the kingdom.

A. D.

1356,

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If ever union and concord were necessary, it must have been upon this occasion : but the King had so alienated the hearts of his subjects, that it appeared evident, from their subsequent conduct, that the most considerable part of the assembly came, with a premeditated design, to curtail the hands of the royal prerogative ; and, instead of that prompt succour so necessary, at this critical juncture, for the support of the administration, they commenced their deliberations, in descanting upon the abuses of the government, and the necessity of a speedy reform. The nobility, who had suffered severely in their private fortunes from the commencement of the war with England, possessed not their former credit. The most respectable

Oa. 15.

A. D. 1356,
Oct. 15. } foners in the hands of their enemies; the remainder, dishonoured by their hasty retreat at Poitiers, were the objects of scorn and derision to the populace; who accused them of having basely abandoned their King. It is therefore not surprising, that the deputies of the people acquired the leading influence in this general meeting.

Having employed in deliberation eight days, without attaining any fixed object, fifty persons were chosen from the three Orders, to determine and prepare the resolutions of the assembly. They then demanded of the Dauphin, that, previously to any assistance they should grant, he would dismiss, and cause to be tried, the ministers and advisers of his father, to whose evil conduct they attributed the misfortunes of the kingdom; that he should receive a council, drawn from the States, of four prelates, twelve nobles, and twelve deputies, to assist him in his administration; that the coin should be established, as they should direct; and that Charles, King of Navarre, should be released from his confinement.

Surprised at the boldness of their demands, the Dauphin was necessitated to promise, that he would consent to their wishes; and directed ordinances to be drawn up, conformably to the resolutions of the assembly: but, unwilling to subject himself to their restrictive intentions, he delayed the execution upon various pretences; and, at length, announced his purpose to await the orders of the King, his father,
without

without whose countenance he could not venture to form any decisive measure. Highly irritated at his determination, the States refused to grant any supply for the support of the war; and, upon their separation, the Dauphin repaired to Metz, to consult with his uncle, the Emperor Charles the Fourth, who had been elected, some years since, to the Imperial throne, by the faction of Clement the Sixth. This Prince, the son of John, King of Bohemia, slain at Creci, was the author of the famous constitution, entitled the Golden Bull; formed, with a variety of other articles, to regulate the election of Emperors; to fix and ascertain the number and functions of the electors, with their privileges, and those of all the members of the Germanic body.

A. D.
1356.

The journey of the Dauphin procured him not all the advantages he had expected. The redemption of John, who was still at Bourdeaux, was agitated with the English commissioners at Metz: but the King of England refused to listen to any negotiation, before the royal prisoner should be removed to the metropolis of his kingdom; and the absence of the Dauphin served only to augment the disorders which convulsed the capital. Upon his departure from Paris, he had delegated his authority to his brother Lewis, Count of Anjou; who, by his command, had issued an ordinance, respecting the alteration of the specie. This unpopular measure increased the general fermentation;

A. D.

1356.

tation; and Robert Le Coq, archbishop of Laon, with Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants, and chief magistrate of the city, instigated the unruly populace to a resistance. A general sedition was excited; and, upon the return of the Dauphin, he was constrained, by the authority of Marcel, to suspend the recent ordinance; to dismiss, and confiscate the effects of, the obnoxious ministers; and sanctify, by his concurrence, a variety of new demands, which were added to their former requisitions; and to accept of a council, composed of thirty-eight persons, chosen from the three orders, to direct the administration of affairs.

While these popular commotions disturbed the peace of the capital, the war continued in Normandy, and Brittany. The Duke of Lancaster besieged Rennes; and Geoffry of Harcourt, cantoned in the Cotentin, ravaged the province with impunity: but at length having ventured to oppose the royal troops in the field, led by Robert of Clermont, he was defeated and slain.

1357.

The Gallic Monarch had been detained in confinement at Bourdeaux ever since the fatal battle of Poitiers. The Prince of Wales had willingly consented to listen to any reasonable terms of pacification; but the King of England, anxious to partake in the triumph of his son, as to procure himself every advantage that so unexpected an event might insure, acceded but to a suspension of arms for the period of two years, and commanded the
royal

royal captive to be embarked for England. When apprised of his approach, Edward advanced to meet him at some distance from his capital; and received the unfortunate Monarch with the same courtesy that might have been expected upon the voluntary visit of a neighbouring potentate; while his amiable competitor, the Prince of Wales, with so much cause for exultation, endeavoured to exceed his former respect and moderation. His noble captive, exalted upon a milk-white steed, and richly caparisoned, which at that period of time, when punctilios were much observed, was considered as a mark of sovereignty, the modest victor, in an unassuming state, attended at his side, upon a small black palfry; and in that humble guise presented a more dignified spectacle to the surrounding multitudes, than the odious triumphs so disgraceful to the magnanimity of ancient Rome; when the majesty of Kings, with the feelings of the foster sex, were wounded and insulted at the wheels of the triumphant car.

A. D.

1357.

Upon the departure of the Gallic Monarch from Bourdeaux, he had deputed the Archbishop of Sens, with the Counts of Tancerville and Eu, to announce in his capital the truce that had been concluded; accompanied by a letter, in which he annulled the proceedings of the States; and, above all, forbade the acceptance of the subsidy, upon the terms they had consented it should be levied. The Parisians, instigated by Marcel, the violence and temerity

A. D.

1357.

temerity of whose character had rendered him the popular leader of the disaffected, flew to arms; compelled the messengers of John to seek their safety in a precipitate flight; the Dauphin, to reject the interference of his father;—and, to defend themselves from any external force that might advance to the relief of the Prince, whom they detained in a sort of captivity, they armed the citizens, threw chains across the streets, sunk ditches around the walls, and planted cannon, and other offensive machines, upon the ramparts. Brittany having been comprehended in the recent truce, Charles of Blois, leaving his sons in England, as hostages for the payment of his ransom, obtained his liberty; and his presence reanimated the fluctuating fortunes of his house. The Duke of Lancaster, by the command of Edward, raised the siege of Rennes, which had, for eight months, resisted the utmost efforts of his arms;—indebted for its preservation to the spirited efforts of Bertrand du Guechlin, who there laid the foundation of that splendid reputation which his military talents, in future campaigns, so gloriously obtained.

Meanwhile, the recent truce, so far from having abated, rather seemed to augment the miseries of France. The captivity of the Monarch, with the preceding disorders of the kingdom, produced a total dissolution of civil authority; and occasioned the most horrible and destructive violence that ever disgraced the annals of any age or country.

The

A. D.

1357.

The conduct of the new reformers chosen by the States, soon discovered that the public good had been the pretext to conceal their avarice and their ambition. Of this number, the Archbishop of Laön, John de Pecquigny, Stephen Marcel, with a few more, had usurped the principal authority; while their colleagues in office, unwilling to sanctify, or to partake of their usurpations, abandoned the situation to which they had been preferred. The Parisians, who found that no beneficial consequences had arisen from the confidence they had reposed in Marcel, and distressed by the depredations of Philip, the brother of the King of Navarre, who had advanced within a short distance of the city, began to perceive their error. The Dauphin seized the favourable turn in their minds, to solicit, in person, supplies from the more distant provinces; but, seduced by their promises, as by the apparent submission of their leader, who justly feared that the succours he might obtain would redound to his punishment, returned to the capital. But here he found himself miserably deceived: they refused to levy troops, or raise supplies, until an assembly of the States should be convened, to sanctify their measures—an alternative to which he was obliged to submit; when he had the additional mortification to learn, that the King of Navarre, who had been removed to Crevecœur, in the Cambresis, had, by the intrigues of the faction in Paris, been restored to his liberty.

A. D.

1357.

More implacable from the length and severity of his confinement, the liberation of Charles put a finishing hand to the disorders of the kingdom. Repairing to Amiens, he endeavoured to gain the inhabitants by his condescension and profusion; publicly harangued the populace; recapitulated his sufferings and disgraces; opened all the prisons of the town; and advanced to Paris, where he was received by the populace with the most unbounded joy and exultation.

The Dauphin, surrounded on all sides by the disaffected, and at the mercy of his most inveterate enemy, was obliged to temporise and dissemble. He consented to every demand; prisoners of every denomination, for whatever crime confined, were liberated; and, with an indemnity to the adherents of his opponent, his orders were issued to restore to the Navarrese Prince whatever had been wrested from his territories. The Governors, who had been intrusted with the captured fortresses, conscious that the compliance of the son of John had been extorted, refused to surrender them: and Charles, who had left the capital, amply supplied by the Parisians with the means to support his pretensions, avowed his intentions to proceed to extremities; and, repairing to Rouen, prevailed upon the inhabitants of that city to enter into his resentments; and celebrated with vast funeral pomp, the obsequies of those lords who had suffered in his cause.

Marcel,

Marcel, who, no longer attempted to preserve an appearance of submission to the authority of the Dauphin, openly erected the standard of rebellion, and distinguished his partizans from those whom he styled traitors to the people, by caps composed of blue and red. The prince attempted in vain to extricate himself from the tyranny of this factious leader: he appeared in public, harangued with applause the inconstant multitude; but the momentary support he had gained by this measure, soon vanished before the superior popularity of his powerful opponent. The spirit of revolt and independence daily increased; the partizans of Marcel murdered, in his presence, John of Conflans, and Robert of Clermont, Marshals of Champagne, and Normandy; and when the Prince demanded whether his life was to be sacrificed to their fury, their audacious leader clapped his cap upon his head, as a signal of security, and wore in triumph that of the Dauphin.

While each day produced some new outrage committed by the factious party, the other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, took the government into their hands, and spread the disorders into the provinces. Numerous parties of disbanded soldiers of all nations, that had composed the armies of the French, and English Monarchs, unrestrained by discipline, and forgetting the parties to whom they had been attached, sought the means of subsistence by plunder and robbery;

A. D.

1357.

A.D. 1357. robbery; and, associating themselves with all the disorderly people with which the age abounded, formed themselves into divisions, which they styled companies. They committed the most atrocious enormities; desolated the open country; plundered, and burnt, the villages; and reduced the inhabitants of the walled towns to the greatest distress; laid some cities under contribution; and extended their depredation to that of Avignon, the residence of the Papal See.

1358. The Dauphin, who upon the attainment of his twenty-first year had recently taken upon himself the title of Regent, having at length seized a favourable moment to withdraw himself from Paris, retired to Compiègne, where he was speedily joined by a respectable force; and the States of Champagne, and Vermandois, acknowledging his authority, associated themselves in his defence. Taking advantage of the favourable appearances in those provinces, he ventured to convoke the general assembly of the States, that were to have met at that time at Paris, to assemble in the city in which he had taken refuge; and received their sanction, and support. The Parisians, who had refused to send their deputies to this meeting, alarmed for their safety, collected troops of mercenary soldiers, strengthened the fortifications of their city, and prepared to resist the expected resentment of the Regent.

The

The miseries of the kingdom scarcely appeared susceptible of an increase, when an evil, of a most calamitous nature, for a while suspended the violence that had actuated the parties of Valois and Navarre. The peasantry, who in these preceding scenes of disorder were exposed to the perpetual insults of the opposing factions, and no longer protected by their former masters, were reduced to the most intolerable misery. Their despair at length converted into rage, they every where rose in arms; the Nobles, and Gentry, hated for their tyranny, became the first objects of the popular frenzy. They were hunted as beasts of prey, and massacred, with their helpless families, without mercy or compunction; their castles were pillaged, and levelled to the ground; and the excesses to which they carried their resentments, surpasses all that vengeance the most unbridled, and barbarity the most atrocious, can present to the imagination! horrors, too dreadful to pollute the page of history!

Every thing gave way to the first prey of their attacks; the Nobility fled before them; but soon recovering from their consternation, assailed the Jacquerie, the name by which they were distinguished, in their turn; and took a severe and ample vengeance. The insurgents were without difficulty dispersed. The Duke of Orleans cut to pieces a considerable body near Paris. The King of Navarre, irritated at their massacre of two of his favourites, engaged, and put to the sword, many thousands,

with

A.D.
1358.

A. D. 1358. with their leader, William Caillet; and the same fate attended them in various parts of the kingdom.

The Regent had been at considerable pains to render Meaux a fortress of strength; and had placed in that town, as in a place of perfect safety, his consort, Joan, with the Duchess of Orleans, and other ladies of high rank. Apprised of his departure for Sens, three hundred Parisians, joined by a number of the peasantry, seized the moment of his absence; and, well assured of a favourable reception from the inhabitants, attempted to gain possession of the place. The most brutal treatment, as the most wanton cruelty, were justly expected by this helpless company: but the Count of Foix, and Grailly, Captal de Buché, animated by the generosity and gallantry of true knights, attended by a few followers, rushed from the town, defeated, and dispersed, with prodigious slaughter, the undisciplined rabble; while the garrison, enraged at the perfidy of the inhabitants, issuing from the citadel, and spreading themselves over the city, took a signal and severe revenge upon the magistrates and citizens, whose invitation had actuated the attempt.

This check was a mortal blow to the authority of Marcel; who, although absolute master of Paris, was not without his inquietudes: he could not but reflect, that the most respectable part of the community awaited some favourable conjuncture to declare against him. To sustain his declining influence

fluence, he called the King of Navarre to his aid. Charles, who had been employed in an attempt to make himself master of Normandy, repaired to Paris, and was saluted by his partizans, Captain General of the State. In the height of these disorders, the Regent had the satisfaction to find his party daily acquiring force, from the necessity there was, of which the most violent were conscious, to restore some regular mode of government. He endeavoured by slow, but certain measures, to undermine the prevailing faction. He had the address to increase his army, by attaching numbers of the Jacquerie to his cause; posted his troops at Charenton and Saint Maur, and cut off the communications to Paris by the Seine and the Marne; burnt the villages in the vicinity of the town; destroyed their resources for subsistence; and warily and gradually advanced to the capital.

A.D.
1358.

Several skirmishes took place between the contending parties; a vain attempt was made to reconcile the opposing Princes, in an interview between Vincennes and the Abbey of Saint Antoine: the King of Navarre, suspected by the Parisians, left the city in disgust, and withdrew from their defence his Navarrese and English troops; the latter, insulted by the inhabitants in their retreat, to revenge the outrage, ravaged the environs of Paris, and defied them under their walls. The citizens, irritated by this procedure, issued from

A. D. 1358. the town; were defeated, and driven back, with the loss of six or seven hundred men. But the reign of Marcel drew towards its close. Having entered into a secret negotiation with the King of Navarre, to deliver up the town,—and, in right of his mother, the daughter of Lewis the Tenth, to place the crown of France upon his head; to effect the intended purpose, the Prince advanced his troops, in the night, towards the gates of Saint Honoré and Antoine.


Aug. 4. Their intrigues had been, however, penetrated by John Maillard, captain of one of the quarters of the city, who, with a few associates, was prepared to counteract their purpose. Upon the approach of Marcel to open the gates, a dispute arose, opprobrious language ensued; when the gallant defender of the capital, with a stroke of his battle-ax, levelled the seditious demagogue to the ground. Their shouts of exultation awakened and alarmed the inhabitants. They assembled in tumultuous crowds: the partizans of Marcel, unapprised of his fate, were massacred without distinction; the Bishop of Laön with difficulty escaped; and the giddy multitude, who had been, but the day before, his most zealous defenders, dragged the body, with savage fury, through the streets; committed the most cruel outrages upon the senseless carcase of their once-popular leader; reproached with bitterness the King of Navarre; and demanded, with eagerness, the return of their lawful Prince. The Regent, apprised of this unexpected turn in his favour,

favour, made his entrance into the city amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants : and the principal leaders of the late disorders, having been either massacred in the tumult, imprisoned; or escaped to the Navarrese Prince ; to secure his present popularity, the Dauphin passed a general act of forgiveness and oblivion.

A. D.

1358.

The King of Navarre, exasperated at the ill success of his enterprise, continued his ravages. To distress the capital, he got possession of the most important posts upon the Oise, the Marne, and the Seine ; cut off the communication to the town, on that side, with the provinces ; and insisted into his service the companies that infested the kingdom—a measure which the Regent found it necessary likewise to adopt. A variety of useless rencontres succeeded between the parties of the two Princes : fortresses were taken and retaken ; castles were destroyed ; towns pillaged and burnt ; until the Dauphin, having obtained more efficient aid from the States, was at length enabled to bring a considerable force into the field ; and laid siege to Melun, which city had been delivered to the King of Navarre, by his sister, the widow of Philip of Valois. That Princess, with the Queen of Charles the Fourth, and Joan, the consort of the Navarrese Prince, closely invested in their retreat, became thus the means of producing an effectual negotiation. Conferences were opened at Verdun ; and the Navarrese Prince repaired to Paris, and finally concluded a

A. D. 1353.  treaty of peace upon fair and equitable terms. But the engagements he had entered into were but ill maintained. Hostilities continued by the same troops under the command of Philip his brother, who could not be persuaded to accede to the recent pacification.

1359. The truce with the King of England had now expired, and various negotiations had been ineffectually entered upon, to procure a solid peace. Impatient of his long confinement, John at length determined to negotiate with the English Monarch in person; and having consented to the most rigorous demands of his opponent, signed, and conveyed the treaty to France, for its ratification. The Regent assembled the States: they unanimously rejected the humiliating terms which despair had extorted from their Sovereign; and Edward, enraged at their general concurrence, closely confined the royal prisoner, with his son, at Somerton. The most vigorous preparations for war were commenced; and the Duke of Lancaster, who was at that time in France, began his destructive ravages in the vicinity of Saint Omers; overran the Cambresis, and Artois; and, upon the arrival of his Sovereign, advanced to unite his troops with the English forces at Calais.

Nov. Attended by his four sons, the chief of his nobility, and some of the best generals of the age, with the whole military force of his kingdom, the English

A. D.

1359.



English Monarch found himself at the head of an armament, computed to exceed one hundred thousand men. To elude a power it was impossible to resist, the Dauphin distributed what troops he had in the principal cities of his dominions ; collected the most valuable effects in places of approved strength ; and coolly and steadily determined to act wholly upon the defensive. The success of these prudent measures was justified by the event. The King of England, who had undertaken this expedition in the most unfavourable season of the year, found his projects much impeded by that circumstance. He overran the open country ; ravaged, plundered, and raised contributions in the provinces, as his resentments dictated ; yet tarnished the lustre of his arms, in not having been enabled, with his prodigious army, to compel the surrender of any place of importance. With a desire to be crowned at Rheims, he invested that city ; when, after a vain attempt of two months, he ingloriously raised the siege.

The King of Navarre, whose late amicable appearance had been calculated to conceal his deep design, having failed in an attempt to become master of Paris, and to seize the person of the Dauphin, made his precipitate retreat from the city, and openly commenced hostilities ; while the King of England, who had obtained from the Duke of Burgundy large contributions,—to save his territories from destructive violence, advanced to the capital.

A. D. 1359. He defied the Regent to combat; drew up his forces before the walls; made frequent, as unsuccessful assaults upon the ramparts: but the wary Prince, too prudent to risk a precarious engagement, and conscious that the want of subsistence would soon compel his enemy to decamp, was not to be provoked, either by the defiance or the menaces of his opponent. As he had foreseen, the English Monarch, having suffered considerably by the mortality of his troops, avowed his intention to delay his vengeance against the city, until the further advance of the season; and, in his retreat, his troops, spreading themselves over the countries of Maine, Beaufse, and the Chartrain, committed the most horrid devastations.

1360.
April.

While the war was carried on in this ruinous manner, the negotiations for peace had been never interrupted: but, as the King of England insisted upon a confirmation of the treaty that had been entered into by John, there was not any likelihood of an accommodation. At length, the Duke of Lancaster ventured to remonstrate upon the necessity of a change of measures: he represented to Edward, that, great as had been his successes, the crown of France, the object of the war, had not become any nearer to his attainment, than at its commencement: so far from advancing his claims to the succession, his destructive hostilities had united every Frenchman against him; and however its prolongation might enrich the English soldiers,

A. D.

1360.



soldiers, it must, inevitably, be ruinous to himself. It was natural to suppose, that these remonstrances were aided by the internal conviction of the King, who could hardly fail to perceive that his prodigious armament had produced no other effect, than the miserable satisfaction, if such it were, of having spread desolation and terror by his arms, without having procured him one solid advantage.

These considerations therefore induced him to consent to more moderate terms of peace ; which sudden resolution the ancient historians impute to the immediate interposition of Heaven, in the effect produced upon the mind of Edward, by a furious tempest, as he lay encamped near the town of Chartres. The conferences between the French and English commissioners were carried on at the town of Bretigny, near that city ; and were at length concluded, upon the following terms : it was stipulated that the French Monarch, in consideration of three millions of crowns of gold, equal in value to one million five hundred thousand pounds of the present currency, should be restored to his liberty ; that Edward should, for ever, renounce all claim to the crown of France, as well as to the Duchy of Normandy, the provinces of Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, the ancient patrimony of his ancestors. In return for which, he was to be put in possession of Poitou, Xaintonge, Agenois, Perigord, Limousin, Querci, Rovergne,

D 4

Angoumois,

A. D. 1360. Angoumois, and other districts, appertaining to those territories, with Calais, Guisnes, Montrieul, and part of Ponthieu, all of which, with Guienne, he should enjoy in full sovereignty, without homage, or any feudal jurisdiction whatsoever. The King of Navarre was to be restored to his honours and possessions; Edward was to renounce his confederacy with the Flemings; and the Gallic Monarch, to forego his alliance with the Scots. That, with regard to the disputes, relative to the succession of Brittany, they should be settled by arbitrators; and forty hostages, among whom were the Dukes of Berry and Anjou, the sons of John, with his brother the Duke of Orleans, be delivered to the King of England, until these terms should have been fully complied with.

In consequence of this pacification, the royal prisoner was removed to Calais. In the autumn of the same year the treaty was finally ratified, and executed by both monarchs in that city; and John having been detained some time at Saint Omers, and other towns in his route, by feasts and rejoicings, at length, after a four year's absence, arrived in his capital, in which he was received by the Parisians with every outward mark of loyalty and affection. But France acquired not any advantages from the return of its Sovereign. His dominions had been so much exhausted by external as well as internal enemies, that, for the discharge of his ransom, various expedients were employed, inimical

cal to the wishes of his subjects; among others, the Jews, a people ever persecuted, strangers in every country, yet ever wealthy, were permitted for a certain term of years to re-enter the kingdom, and, for this indulgence, contributed liberally to the necessities of the Monarch.

A. D.
1360.



The dismemberment of the State was not the most deplorable calamity. Many of those places which Edward had commanded his officers to restore, they refused to deliver; those who complied, became the leaders of numerous bands of lawless banditti, which the treaty of Brétigny had contributed to increase, and who, changing their former appellation, took that of "Late comers," as meaning, that they partook only of the gleanings of that harvest, which had been so successfully reaped by the "companies." Persons of high rank, and military talents, who had been ruined by the wars, forgetful of their birth and station, joined those desultory troops; and their numbers became so formidable as to threaten France with a general desolation. James of Bourbon, who, at the command of John, had assembled a respectable force principally of the Nobility and Gentry of the provinces, engaged sixteen thousand of those freebooters, at the Brignais, a small river in the Lyonnais. He was totally defeated; and every person of his party, of any distinction, was either slain, wounded, or made prisoner.

The

A. D.
1360.

The kingdom, thus more exposed than ever to these infuriate plunderers, they divided into two parties ; the first, under the command of Sequin de Badefol, cantoned themselves in the Lyonnois, the districts of Beaujolois and Nevernois, and were at length prevailed upon, for considerable pecuniary offers, to evacuate the dominions of the French Monarch, and to retire into Gascony ; whilst the latter detachment, under a leader who styled himself the “ Friend of God, and enemy of mankind,” spreading themselves over Provence, carried their excesses to every species of licentiousness, and outrage. The Court of Avignon trembled for their safety ; Innocent the Sixth published against them ; when, through the mediation of the Marquis of Montferrat, the Holy See was redeemed from the apprehended danger, in consideration of a contribution of sixty thousand florins ; and that Prince being at war with the Lords of Visconti, they willingly enlisted themselves into his service.

The death of the Duke of Burgundy revived the intrigues of the King of Navarre, who claimed the inheritance of that Duchy, as the descendant of Margaret, the eldest sister of Eudes, grandfather to the late Prince : but the French Monarch, who derived his claims from Jane, the younger sister, aware that Charles was not in a situation to oppose effectually his pretensions, took possession of the contested province ; and, soon after its re-union to the Gallic crown, imprudently bestowed it upon
Philip

Philip his favourite son, and created him the first Peer of France. This Prince, independently of this instance of ill-timed partiality, had the good fortune, by his union with Margaret, the affianced bride of the deceased Duke, and heiress of the countries of Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois, to attain the possession of three territories, which laid the foundation of the greatness, as the splendor of the second House of Burgundy—the subject of evils lasting and bloody to France.

A.D.

1360.

Various difficulties had arisen respecting the treaty of Bretigny. The King of Navarre had not renounced his just pretensions to the above-mentioned province. In this unsettled state of the kingdom, John undertook a journey to Avignon, where, at the persuasion of Urban the Fifth, and the King of Cyprus, this infatuated Monarch, destitute of the means either for the discharge of his ransom, or for the necessary support of the State, engaged to undertake, in person, an expedition against the Infidels. These measures could not fail of being highly condemned by the Dauphin and his Council; and, upon the return of the King to his capital, he found his authority so little considered, and, anxious to prevent a rupture with Edward, who complained of the infractions of the treaty, that he determined to repair himself to the English Court; in the hope that, with the personal influence he flattered himself he enjoyed in that kingdom, he might be able to adjust the differences that

A. D.
1362.

that were subsisting. In replying to the entreaties of his son and his nobles, who used every argument to dissuade him from this resolution, he answered, "that if good faith were entirely banished from the rest of the world, it should be ever held sacred in the breast of Princes; that by the treaty of Bretigny he obtained his liberty; and, be the sacrifices what they may, his part should be honourably performed."

1364,
Jan. 4.

John, although he was received by the English Monarch with the most distinguished marks of personal affection and respect, yet found him highly exasperated at what he styled the infractions of the treaty, and the recent escape of the Count of Anjou, one of the hostages, from his confinement. Nor does it appear, that this visit to the English Court was productive of any advantage. Edward declined receding from any of his demands; and, whether his end was hastened by his mental afflictions, or a consumptive malady, he was taken ill some months after his arrival, and closed his unfortunate, as inglorious reign, at the palace of the Savoy, in the forty fifth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. The magnificent spirit of Edward induced him to celebrate the obsequies of his royal guest with vast funeral honours, whom, notwithstanding his boasted magnanimity, he had so cruelly persecuted: and the unhappy John had the satisfaction to be attended in his last moments by the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, his son

Hainault,
the continuator of
Velly.

son and brother, with other Gallic Princes who were, at that time, in the dominions of his rival: and his corpse, conveyed into France, was interred with those of his ancestors in the royal sepulchre of St. Denis.

A.D.
1364.

This Monarch left four sons by his first consort, Bonna, of Luxembourg, sister to the Emperor of Germany;—Charles, his successor; Lewis, John, and Philip, Dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy: and his daughters were—Jane, Queen of Navarre; Maria, Duchess of Bar; Isabel, espoused to Galeas Visconti; and Margaret.

Upon a cursory view of the foregoing reign, the reader is surprised at the general disaffection which so invariably attended the person of this Monarch, from the commencement of his government, to his resumption of the regal authority, upon his return from the English Court: but, upon a close investigation of the various abuses which marked his administration, the causes of that unpopularity cease to be any longer a mystery. It is of dangerous consequence to a Sovereign, who should be the guardian of the laws, and the protector of innocence, to open the path, by his own example, to cruelty and injustice,—too fatally experienced, by this Prince, in the miserable disorders that pervaded his capital, during the regency of his son.

The misfortunes of Philip, proceeding from the violence and impetuosity of his passions, should have corrected and restrained the similar propensities of
John;

A. D.

1364.

John; but he neglected to profit by the salutary admonition; and the hasty executions of the Constable, and the adherents of the King of Navarre, without the solemnity of trial, are melancholy instances of the power of a despot, who, renouncing the common principles of humanity, sets at defiance all obligations, both human and divine.

The French historians, while they arraign the inflexible severity of this Prince, hurried, by his resentments, to the sacrifice of every consideration to gratify his vengeance,—at the same time allow him to have been generous and sincere, highly tenacious of his word; and, in every particular that related to the dignity of his situation, magnificent and splendid:—qualities rarely found, but in a liberal and expansive mind. But passion, unrestrained, to what a multiplicity and variety of crimes does it not conduct the unreflecting agent!

Personally brave, his military talents were yet beneath mediocrity: and although to his imprudences and temerity may be, in a great measure, attributed the miseries of France,—to his subjects may be as justly imputed the disasters of the State. Without a proper sense of the danger and the distress of the kingdom, the Nobles, solely occupied by their individual interests, were insensible to the captivity of their Monarch. Their ill-timed magnificence, their luxurious and profligate manners, which the historians of that reign so freely canvass, could not fail to weaken the com-
mon

mon cause, and make them as unfit, as they were unwilling, to exert themselves in the defence and safety of their country. It has been observed, that the life of John was a proof, how much the want of prudence, and, we may add, the indulgence of his predominant error, rendered abortive the good qualities of which he was possessed : and hence, his goodness has been styled weakness, his liberality ostentation, his valour levity, and his activity precipitation.

A. D.
1364.

Whatever may have been his errors, his cruel reverse of fortune entitles him to compassion and forbearance. To see pride humbled by disgrace, is an awful, but an useful lesson : to behold adversity ennobled by a dignified and a patient fortitude, ought to be the subject of applause and imitation. Misfortune had entirely changed the disposition of this Monarch, and left not a vestige of his former violence. Worn out by troubles and disappointments, humanity recovered those rights, which vain-glory and adulation had so early suppressed. He conciliated, in a wonderful degree, the good-will of his enemies ; and was personally beloved and respected, while a prisoner, or rather a guest, at the Court of Edward. The elegant Petrarch, who was sent upon an embassy, to congratulate him upon his return to his dominions, bestows upon his personal and mental endowments, a warm and flattering commendation ; and, as this writer was acute in his observations,

A.D. 1364. observations, and accurate in the veracity of his reports, his authority deserves regard. But we must allow, that, dazzled by the splendour of royalty, his complacency carried him too far, when he distinguished him by the inflated appellations of, the first of Kings, and the most invincible of men !

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIFTH, SURNAMED
THE WISE.

Reflections on the errors of the preceding reigns—The accession of Charles—Advantages obtained in Normandy—The war in Brittany—The battle of Auray—Death of Charles of Blois—Treaty of Guerrand—Ravage of the Companies—Henry of Castile takes them into his service, and with the assistance of Du Guesclin obtains the Castilian crown—Peter the Cruel, with the support of the Prince of Wales, gains the battle of Navarrette, and recovers his dominions—The cruelty and ingratitude of that Prince—He is slain by Henry—who is raised to the vacant throne—The French Monarch receives the complaints of the disaffected inhabitants of Aquitaine—He summons the Prince of Wales to his Court of Peers—Declares war against the King of England—The submission of Ponthieu—Fruitless expedition of the Duke of Lancaster—Death of Chandos—The assembly of the States—The rapid progress of the Gallic arms under Du Guesclin—Severity of the Prince of Wales at Limoges—Dispersion of the armament led by Sir Robert Knolles—The English fleet captured by that of Castile—Success of the Constable beyond the Loire—The Capital de Buch taken—Fruitless attempts of Edward—Brittany overrun by Du Guesclin—A truce—Death of the Prince of Wales, and the King of England—Hostilities recommenced—Process against the King of Navarre—who loses his possessions in the Gallic dominions—The French Monarch fails in his attempt to re-annex Brittany to his crown—Montfort is restored—Death of Du Guesclin—Invasion of the English—The death and character of Charles.

ACCUSTOMED, for so many years, and
under the most perplexing circumstances, to partici-
VOL. III. E ticipate

A. D.
1364.

A. D. 1364. participate in the cares of government, the authority of Charles received but little augmentation from his accession to the regal power. Experience proved an instructor, more efficacious than would have been the precepts of the most sagacious, and profound politician. Adversity had given him leisure to reflect upon the revolutions of the foregoing reigns; and the temperate investigation of the errors of his predecessors, enabled him to profit by their various, as signal misfortunes. France, reduced to a state of the most humiliating misery and despondency, appeared unlikely to recover soon her wanted ascendancy; but there are in all countries, more particularly in this, fortunate from situation, internal resources, which lie concealed until some active and enlightened genius shall arise to bring them forth, and make them subservient to the welfare and prosperity of that people for whose benefit they were originally designed. To the first Princes of the Capetian race the reputation of valour had been a necessary qualification to secure to them the possession of their fluctuating honours: seduced by their example, their successors, to acquire a vain-glory which it would have been better had they not ever obtained, precipitated their kingdom to the brink of despair; but Charles, who judiciously conceived that, for the preservation of his dominions, prudence was more necessary than military fame, was the first European Monarch who laid it down as an invariable maxim not ever to appear

appear at the head of his armies ; and justified, by the success which attended this measure, the superior advantages of policy and judgment, over precipitation and valour.

A. D.
1364.

Reserving his attentions to the deliberations of May 19. the cabinet, he entrusted the command of his armies to generals of the most approved conduct and courage ; and the commencement of his reign was marked by a happy presage of its future prosperity ; by the welcome tidings of a victory obtained at Cocherel, in Normandy, by Bertrand du Guesclin, over the forces of the King of Navarre. This celebrated warrior, whom Charles had the discernment to make the instrument of his military exploits, had been employed by this Prince, antecedently to the death of his father : he had recently recovered to his Sovereign, Mantes, Melun, and the fortress of Rouboise, which commanded the passages of the Seine ; and by these captures had restored to the cities of Paris, and Rouen, their commercial, as long-interrupted communication. Accustomed to disgrace, this late success, in which the Gallic General had the good fortune to capture the Captal de Buch, a Gascon officer of esteemed abilities, and the leader of the Navarrese army, re-animated the drooping hopes of the French. Several important places surrendered to their arms ;—when the triumphant Bertrand, who had been rewarded by his Sovereign with the territories appertaining to the county of Longueville,

A. D.

1364.

was recalled from the scene of conquest, to support Charles of Blois against his more powerful opponent, the young Count of Montfort, assisted by the troops, and some of the most approved Generals of the English Monarch. Nor can we here omit to observe the shameful duplicity of Edward, who, notwithstanding the late treaty of Bretigny, had permitted his best officers and soldiers to continue their hostilities in Normandy, under commissions from the King of Navarre.

The contending Princes had recently entered into a treaty at Landes, to restore peace to the exhausted Duchy of Brittany, by an equal partition of the ducal honours and territories of that province; but the Countess of Penthievre, the consort of Charles of Blois, having peremptorily rejected a confirmation of their pacification, the war had recommenced with redoubled violence. The battle of Auray decided the fate of the party of Blois. Charles was defeated, and slain in the engagement; Du Guesclin, after having broken his sword, and battle-axe, surrendered himself a prisoner to John, Lord Chandos; and Montfort obtained soon after the entire possession of the contested territories. The ill effects that might have ensued from the ascendancy obtained by the Count of Montfort the ally, and son-in-law of Edward, were eluded by the prudence of the Gallic Monarch; who, conscious that the King of England awaited but some favourable pretext to recommence hostilities in France

France, concluded a treaty with, and consented to receive the homage of, the successful Duke. Conferences were opened at Guerrand, where it was stipulated that Jane, the widow of the deceased prince, in compensation for the renunciation of her claims to the province, should preserve the counties of Penthievre and Limousin, with other pecuniary advantages; that her son, an hostage in England, should be united to the sister of Montfort, and succeed to his dominions in his failure of issue; that in future the exclusion of females from the inheritance, but in default of every male heir, should be the established law of Brittany. And thus ended a war of three-and-twenty years, in which that distracted country had experienced the most miserable devastation, with the loss of an infinitude of her people, and her most gallant nobles.

A.D.

1364.

The treaty of Guerrand, which was followed by one with the King of Navarre, was considered by the Gallic Monarch to be of as much real importance to the security of his crown, as to the welfare of his subjects. But fleeting were the moments of tranquillity, produced by those events; and France, in consequence of that peace, was again exposed to the dreadful ravages of the disbanded troops, who, led by Gascon and English knights of military fame, became a terror to all peaceable inhabitants. With grief and indignation, Charles saw the dreadful devastations of these

1365.

A.D.

1365.

licentious plunderers, without the means to alleviate the miseries of the nation: they were better soldiers than any that he could bring into the field; and the state of his finances prevented him from purchasing their forbearance by pecuniary considerations. Various expedients were devised to induce them to quit the kingdom,—when a favourable event occurred, which enabled the King to discharge into foreign countries this dangerous, as intestine evil.

Peter, King of Castile, justly stigmatised by the surname of The Cruel, had filled with blood and murder, his family and his kingdom: he had put to death, in violation of the public faith, Eleonora de Guzman, the beloved mistress of his father, who had borne him seven sons, with one of his brothers, from a groundless jealousy: his nobles fell every day the victims of his severity; and his consort, Blanch of Bourbon, sister to the Queen of France, after a long confinement, he poisoned, at the instigation of Mary de Padilla, who had gained an entire ascendancy over his affections. Henry of Trastamere, another brother of the ferocious Monarch, perceiving the fate of all who were obnoxious to the tyrant, took up arms in his defence; but, defeated by Peter, sought a refuge in the Court of the French Monarch, and offered to take into his service the desultory troops, by whose incursions the kingdom was afflicted. Charles, highly gratified by the expedient, employed

ployed Du Guesclin, whose services he had recovered at a vast ransom, to treat with the leaders of the 'Companies,' many of whom had been his associates in the field. The esteem and respect in which they held his person and his character, induced them to place an implicit confidence in his promises: they readily consented to embrace a more honourable way of life, than that to which they had been driven by their necessities, and to restore the numerous fortresses they had seized. At the desire of Bertrand, the principal chiefs repaired to Paris, where they were magnificently treated and caressed by the French Monarch; and, sensible of the real advantages that would result from their departure, he advanced them two hundred thousand francs for the support of their expedition. Being joined by many Breton noblemen, with other adventurers, and led by Du Guesclin, they took the route to Avignon. The pontiff, Urban the Fifth, highly incensed at the order of their march, was yet compelled, with his absolution, to provide them with a considerable sum, to arrest the progress of the devastation they had commenced, to oblige him to accede to their wishes.

These veteran troops, conducted by so gallant a commander, easily prevailed over a Sovereign who, from terror alone, kept the possession of his precarious honours. Henry was proclaimed King of Castile, at Cahors and Burgos; and Peter, aban-

A. D.
1365.

done by his subjects, embarked at Corunna, and threw himself upon the generosity and protection of the Prince of Wales. He pleaded his lawful claims to that throne, from whence he had been driven; and, as an extenuation of his cruelties, the excessive power, as turbulent dispositions of his numerous brethren: and Edward, flattered by the splendid appellation of the dethroner and restorer of kings, consented to assist the suppliant Monarch in the recovery of his dominions. The ‘Companies,’ who had so much contributed to the success of the new Sovereign, at the first summons, hastily repaired to the standard of the Prince of Wales, under whose banners they had so often conquered: but Henry, beloved by the Castilians, and supported by the King of Arragon, was enabled, notwithstanding the defection of these troops, to bring an army of one hundred thousand men into the field; and arrived, with his forces, at Najara, at the same time that his opponent, with a very inferior force, encamped at the small town of Navarette.

1366.
April 3.

In opposition to the advice of Du Guesclin, who strongly urged the policy of delaying a decisive action; representing, that the enemy, who were in want of every necessary subsistence, must soon be compelled to retire; Henry insisted upon an immediate engagement. The usual ascendancy of Edward prevailed; the Castilians were entirely defeated;

feated; their leader chased from the field of battle, with the loss of twenty thousand men; and the Gallic general once more surrendered himself a prisoner to the English arms.

A. D.
1366.

This victory re-established Peter upon the throne, by a revolution as prompt as was that by which he had been driven from it; and he scrupled not to demand of his benefactor, the sacrifice of his Castilian prisoners, to appease his resentments; but Edward, struck with horror at his proposal, advised him rather to endeavour, by mildness and clemency, to regain the affections of his subjects, than inflame their just detestation, by measures so repugnant to honour and humanity.—Repaid by the ingratitude he ought to have expected from an alliance with one destitute of every moral virtue, the Prince of Wales ineffectually demanded the pay that had been stipulated for his English troops; and, finding that they were daily decreasing from want and sickness, and his own health considerably impaired by the fatigues of the campaign, he was obliged to depart with the vain promises of his ungenerous ally; and returned with his diminished army to Bourdeaux.

The fate of this perfidious Prince was not long undecided: his barbarities over his vanquished subjects, revived their efforts to relieve themselves from his yoke. Henry de Trastamere, with Du Guesclin, who had been again redeemed by the King of France, having levied new forces, re-
turned

A. D.
1366.

turned to Castile; and Peter, once more dethroned, was slain by the hand of his brother, a victim to his vices, in the thirty-fourth year of his age; and thus experienced, that fear is the worst protector of a crown; and that those who found their authority in blood, will often find but one step from the purple to the tomb! Henry, although the illegitimate son of Alonzo, was elevated to the vacant throne; and sustained it in opposition to the united efforts of the Kings of Navarre, Arragon, Grenada, Portugal, and the claims of the Duke of Lancaster, who had espoused Constance, the daughter of Peter. Environed by enemies, he braved their attempts, and transmitted the inheritance to his posterity. Guesclin, with the dignity of Constable, was amply recompensed for his zealous adherence, by considerable possessions: honours and rewards were liberally bestowed upon all his associates; and the assistance that he had obtained from the Gallic Monarch, he had soon the opportunity to repay by a grateful and efficacious support in the subsequent events of his reign.

The respite which France had enjoyed, from the employment of the 'Companies,' Charles endeavoured to improve by his indefatigable attention to the internal regulations of his kingdom; he neglected not any thing that could conciliate the friendship of the neighbouring potentates; the Pope, the Emperor, several Princes of Germany, with the King of Castile,

Castile, were decidedly in his interest: he procured a dispensation; and obtained for his brother, the Duke of Burgundy, the heiress of Flanders, which had been long in agitation, in spite of the efforts of the King of England to obtain her for one of his sons. Two thirds of the ransom of his father had been liquidated; the hostages in England were nearly all redeemed—and these circumstances, with the increasing prosperity of his dominions, induced him to prepare to take advantage of every opportunity that might occur, to repair the disgraces of the last reigns, and to restore the lustre and the independency of the Gallic Crown.

A.D.
1366.

The Prince of Wales, who had, in his splendid but imprudent expedition into Castile, incurred a prodigious expence, and a variety of pecuniary engagements, which the revenues of his principality were insufficient to discharge, upon his return to Bourdeaux, had found it necessary to impose a new and severe tax upon his Gallic subjects. This measure produced a general disaffection to his government; and the great vassals of the ceded provinces, not without reason, complained that, considered as a conquered people, their privileges were disregarded; and that, although the son of Edward had been most liberal in his favours, when at war with the French Monarch, so soon as his designs upon that kingdom had been accomplished, his bounty had been withdrawn; and that, regardless

A. D. 1366. regardless of their services, the English were alone permitted either to partake of his confidence, or to enjoy any office of importance. With these sentiments, they were naturally led to direct their wishes to their ancient sovereign; and Charles, attentive to improve to his advantage the errors of his opponent, encouraged them to appeal for a redress of their grievances, to his tribunal.

1369. The reciprocal renunciations, which, by the treaty of Bretigny, were to have been made by either sovereign—Edward of his claims to the French crown and the northern provinces, and Charles, to the territories that had been ceded to the King of England, had not ever been finally concluded. Upon this pretence, therefore, the Gallic Monarch grounded his right to receive the appeals of the sub-vassals of Guienne, Ponthieu, and other districts, under the administration of the Prince of Wales; and conceived that the severe terms that had been exacted from his father, by the conqueror, justified him in any attempt to recover the territories that had been torn from his dominions. The declining years of Edward, the increasing ill health of his son, with the favourable disposition of his subjects, were certainly not among the least of his inducements to commence hostilities; and, to sanctify in some measure his designs, the discontented Nobles of Aquitaine were directed to lay their grievances before his Parliament; and, with their concurrence, he summoned

the victor of Poitiers to appear, and answer before his tribunal, to their complaints.

A. D.
1369.



Accustomed, hitherto, to prescribe terms to others; the citation of the French Monarch aroused the indignation of Edward: "Yes," replied the insulted Prince, "I will repair to Paris; but it shall be at the head of an army of sixty thousand men." Yet, however impatient to put these threats into execution, he had not the means to raise troops; neither did he receive efficient support from his father, in whom conquest was no longer the active principle of his soul; and who, from the unwarlike character of his opponent; and the supposition that France could not speedily recover from her late ruinous condition, had suffered his marine to go to decay. His son was therefore obliged to delay his meditated vengeance; and the King of England, by a negotiation, endeavoured to prevent an open rupture. But his cautious adversary, prepared for immediate hostilities, had secured to his service the remainder of the 'Companies,' whom the late unpopular measures of the Prince of Wales had detached from his interests; had entered into a strict alliance with the Scottish Monarch; and had obtained from his firm ally, the King of Castille, a considerable naval armament; and, with these resources, he ventured to send his defiance to the Court of Edward.

So well had his measures been taken, that his denunciation of war was rapidly followed by the
surrender

A. D.
1369.

surrender of Abbeville, Saint Valery, and Rue le Crotoy, to the Gallic troops, commanded by the Count of Saint Pol and Guy du Chatillon; and, in a short time, the whole district of Ponthieu voluntarily submitted to the arms of their natural Sovereign. Irritated and confounded at the celerity of this reduction, and the success of the Dukes of Anjou and Berry in the southern provinces, the English Monarch, in the first transports of his wrath, determined to sacrifice to his resentment the hostages that were yet in his hands; but, restrained by reflection upon this ungenerous mode of retaliation, he re-assumed the vain title of King of France, and commenced the most vigorous preparations to chastise what he considered the presumption of a subdued opponent.

The war, illumined at the extremities of France, obliged Edward to divide his forces. The Duke of Lancaster, disembarking at Calais, penetrated to the valley of Tournehem, near Saint Omers; and Charles, who had prepared at Harfleur a vast naval equipment under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, to make a descent upon the English coasts, abandoned that intention, to arrest the progress of the Prince; and, warned by the fields of Creci and Poitiers, strictly enjoined his brother not to provoke, but to decline, a decisive engagement. In consequence of this injunction, several skirmishes took place; but the Gallic army, dispirited by an inactivity so contrary to the genius of their nation,

A. D.

1369.



nation, leaving detachments to watch the motions of the enemy, dispersed; and the Duke of Lancaster, with an intent to burn the fleet at Harfleur, took the route for Normandy; but, prevented in his attempt by the vigilance of the Count of Saint Pol, he, with a considerable loss, retreated with his army again to Calais.

The campaign, in the southern part of the kingdom, was not more successful to the English arms. The brave Chandos was slain in an engagement at Leusac, near Poitiers, lamented by his enemies as well as by his friends,—whose valour was equal to his judgment, and whose councils were ever directed to honour and humanity. In him, the Prince of Wales lost the early guide of his youth, and one of his best generals; to whose advice had he attended, he might have prevented the disaffection of his Gallic subjects; and the King of England, with his son, acknowledged, but too late, their error in recalling the obnoxious taxes, with a promise to bury in oblivion the revolt of the ceded provinces.

The success of the French Monarch had disposed the nation to contribute their assistance to a war so happily commenced; and Charles, assured of their favourable disposition, in the autumn of the year convoked a general assembly of the States at Paris, and obtained a vigorous support. They imposed, besides a renewal of those taxes that had been exacted for the release of the late King, a new and heavy contribution; and which was in general willingly

A. D. willingly accorded, from the opinion entertained
 1369. of the wisdom and the economy of his administration.

1370. The recall of Du Guesclin from Spain, to the command of the army, infused a new vigour, as it ensured a continuation of success to the Gallic troops; and the French Monarch having, by an arrêt of the Court of Peers, obtained a declaration, that Guienne, Gascony, and other fiefs in the possession of the King of England, were confiscated to his crown,—the first efforts of Bertrand promised to make effectual that decree. Having joined the Duke of Anjou near Thoulouse, several fortresses in Languedoc surrendered to his arms; and Aiguillon, which had resisted, for many months, an army of sixty thousand men, in the reign of Philip, only sustained a siege of four days. The retreat of the Gascon Lords, for the defence of their territories, obliged the brother of Charles to disperse his forces; and Guesclin repaired to the Duke of Berry, who had invested Limoges, which surrendered a few days after his approach. Upon the departure of the French troops, the Prince of Wales, highly irritated at its capture, and suspecting that it had been delivered up by the treachery of the bishop of the city, upon whose integrity he had relied, assaulted, and entered the town by storm. The innocent inhabitants were the victims of his fury. It was in vain with supplications and tears they threw themselves before the victor, to deprecate

cate his wrath: the city was delivered to the fury of the flames and the sword: neither sex, nor age was spared; and four thousand unhappy Limogens were slaughtered before his resentments were appeased. How inconsistent was this unjustifiable severity, with the generous conduct of the conqueror of Poitiers and Navarette! But Edward had outlived his glory—the common lot of heroes! and this fact, which impartiality would not permit us to pass over in silence, was his last military exploit. He embarked soon after for England, in the expectation that the hasty progress of his disease might be impeded by a return to his native land; and entrusted to his brother, the Duke of Lancaster, the support of his interests in France.

A. D.
1379.

The disembarkation of a formidable army at Calais, under the command of Sir Robert Knolles, one of the most approved of the English generals, obliged Charles to re-unite his forces, to attend to his motions. But, with the same wary conduct which he observed during his regency, he strictly forbade his officers to hazard an engagement; and the governors of his fortified towns, to permit any sallies from their garrisons. The wisdom of the measure was answered by the event. The English commander, as had done his Sovereign some years before him, assaulted the towns in his route; burnt the outskirts of their suburbs; destroyed the open country; laid the villages under contribution; defied the King before the ram-

A. D.

1370.

parts of his capital : but, harassed by the flying detachments of the Gallic troops, he was compelled to be more cautious, and less destructive in his march, than hitherto had been the consequence of former incursions ; and, distressed at length by the scarcity occasioned by his devastations, and the approach of the winter, he was obliged to retire.

Du Guesclin, who had been recently elevated to the dignity of Constable, entrusted with a small, but chosen body of troops, pursued the enemy, dispersed in detachments over the districts of Anjou and Maine. At Pont-Vilain, in the latter province, he surprised, and totally defeated, a corps of five thousand men, commanded by Lord Grandison, and from whom he obtained a prodigious booty—the spoils of the Gallic provinces. This success redoubled the activity of his operations : he assaulted the English troops in all their cantonments ; was every where equally fortunate ; and this formidable army, reduced to a few hundred soldiers, took refuge, with their commander, in Brittany.

1371.

The French Monarch was not less successful at sea : a considerable reinforcement, that had been destined for Guienne, was intercepted by the Castilian fleet, near Rochelle. The Earl of Pembroke, their leader, with the treasure intended for the support of his troops, was captured ; and the dispersed squadron, pursued to Bourdeaux, were almost all either sunk or taken.

Upon

Upon the opening of the campaign, the French army stationed on the Loire, being joined by the Constable, reduced some places of importance in Poitou, and Saint Severe, in the Limousin. The Captal de Buch, who had the command of the English forces, in the absence of the Duke of Lancaster, having succeeded in his attempt to relieve Soubise, upon his retreat was intercepted, captured, and conveyed a prisoner to Paris. The French Monarch, sensible of his merit and abilities, refused the liberal proffers made for his release by the King of England; and endeavoured by the most advantageous offers to attach him to his service: but with too much gratitude to purchase his liberty with the desertion of his Sovereign, he preferred an honourable captivity, to an ignominious servitude; and languished five years in confinement, before death closed the scene of his misfortunes; an exit that neither redounded to the generosity, nor to the magnanimity of Charles! This event was followed by the surrender of Soubise, Poitiers, Angoulême, and other considerable towns; and the Rochellers, having by a stratagem driven out the English garrison, again reclaimed the protection of their former masters.

A. D.

1371.

The King of England, aroused by the danger of being speedily divested, not only of his conquests, but the ancient possessions of his family; to avert the final ruin of his interests in Poitou, prepared to make a vigorous effort for the relief of Thouars.

A.D.

1371.

With a large, and well-appointed force, he embarked with the Prince of Wales, and the flower of his Nobility; but the elements, not more favourable to his exertions, than fortune, rendered abortive every endeavour to reach the French coasts. Having wasted nine weeks in the fruitless attempt, and convinced it was too late for the relief of the besieged, disappointed and mortified, he returned to England. Foiled in this intention, Edward yet flattered himself, that with the assistance of his son-in-law, the Duke of Brittany, he should be enabled to draw the attention of his opponent from Guienne; but the power of his ally was not equal to his zeal and attachment. The French Monarch had secured to his interests the principal Nobility of the province; and Montfort having undertaken to deliver up some towns of strength to the English, was driven from his dominions: and upon the approach of Du Guesclin and Clifton, every place of importance, excepting Brest, Derval, and Auray, submitted to the Gallic arms.

Another fruitless expedition was undertaken by the Duke of Lancaster, who, accompanied by the fugitive Prince, with a considerable armament, landed at Calais. Montfort attempted to persuade him to commence his operations in the relief of his duchy; but the English commander, persisting in his resolves to proceed to Guienne, began his march through a country so entirely desolated by repeated incursions, that harassed, by the flying squadrons

squadrons of the French, and his troops nearly famished, not four fifths of the flourishing army reached Bourdeaux, the place of their destination. Thus, in the short period of four years, of the many provinces ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, the English Monarch was deprived of all his splendid conquests, excepting Calais; and of all his ancient possessions, but Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and an inconsiderable district:—a revolution to be attributed to the prudent policy of Charles, the activity and valour of Du Guesclin, and the energy of a nation, which felt a just confidence in the wisdom, and good intentions of their Sovereign. A war, glorious to France, and unjustly depreciated by Rapin, when he advances that there is not any thing that merits the attention of the reader, or that can be placed in competition with the brilliant successes of Creci and Poitiers; but, as it is judiciously observed by Villaret in his elegant and instructive history, “the glory of enterprises should be estimated by the obstacles which are to be surmounted, as it is more useful, as more estimable, to repair great losses by gradual means, and well-concerted plans, than entrust the safety of a kingdom to a single chance, in the risk of a decisive engagement, wherein the conqueror is too often indebted for victory, to the temerity of the vanquished.” It should be considered that there had not ever been better appointed armies brought by the English into the field, or generals of more approved abili-

A. D.
1371.

A. D.

1371.

ties employed by Edward, than in the course of this war; it would be therefore necessary to investigate with attention the indefatigable constancy, and the unwearied vigilance of the French Monarch, to appreciate that just tribute of applause so obviously due to his administration; and his opponent too late perceived at how high a price he had purchased, by the blood and treasure of his kingdom, the vain glory he had obtained.

1374.


Baffled in every attempt to recover over Charles his accustomed ascendancy, Edward willingly accepted a suspension from hostilities, procured by the persevering exertions of the Pontiff, Gregory XI, who vainly attempted to convert this armistice into a solid peace; but which at length ended in a further prolongation of the truce. During the negotiations for this event, the Duke of Brittany, who had obtained a strong reinforcement from the King of England, had recovered several places of importance in his dominions, where, to avenge the sanguinary proceedings of Oliver de Clifton against his allies, he gave up to the sword the French garrisons of several of the captured fortresses; and besieged that commander, the implacable foe to the English nation, in Quimperlay; when, on the point of gaining the person of his obnoxious subject, he was compelled to arrest the progress of his successes by the formal annunciation of the late cessation of warfare, in which his territories had been expressly specified.

This

This short respite from warfare, proved of infinite service to France, by leaving the Gallic Monarch at liberty to regulate the internal affairs of his kingdom; and, pending the cessation of hostilities, the English nation had to lament their pride and glory, Edward, Prince of Wales, whose too early entrance into the tumultuous scenes of war had brought on a premature decay. Enfeebled by disease, he had the mortification to witness the disgraces of his country, without being able to exert his accustomed activity for her relief. But the military talents of this Prince were among the least valuable of his qualifications: brave without ferocity; ever submissive and respectful to his father; amiable in social virtues, his affability, generosity, and sweetness of temper, conciliated all hearts; and had not his resentments been suffered to subdue the natural forbearance and gentleness of his disposition, at Limoges, his character would have been unfulfilled by any blemish; for, however common were the instances of sanguinary violence in the ferocious manners of the age, in the mild and moderate victor of Poitiers they were inexcusable. The father survived not long his gallant son: in the ensuing year, and soon after the expiration of the truce, that great Monarch closed a reign the most glorious, as one of the most lengthened, in the annals of his country.

If any thing could be capable to convince Sovereigns of the vanity of all human grandeur, the latter period of the life of Edward must have in-

A.D.
June 1376
to
July 1377

A. D. 1377.  spired this salutary reflection. This Prince, who, in the victorious course of fifty years, appears to have been the chosen idol of fortune; adored by his subjects, feared and respected by his enemies; had the misery, when overwhelmed by age and infirmity, to see all his splendid conquests ravished from him; and, failing in every attempt to recover their possession, experienced the decay of his authority at home; and moreover, abandoned by all the world, was left, in his last moments; to the mercy of a venal and rapacious favourite—a sad memento of the instability of fortune, and an admonition that should come home to every person who may suppose his elevation to be above the reach of disappointment and sorrow!

The war had been renewed with various success. The Gallic fleet, with that of Castile, at that time the most formidable naval power of Europe, had united in an attempt upon the coast of England; had burnt Rye, Hastings, Portsmouth, with some other towns; and had reduced the Isle of Wight to submission. The death of the King of England was the signal for the attack of the English on every side. Robert, King of Scotland, who had been obliged to remain a neutral spectator during the life of that Prince, invaded, but unsuccessfully, the dominions of Richard, his successor, the son of the Prince of Wales; and the French Monarch, who with difficulty could assemble a small body of troops at the commencement of his reign, had now some numerous and well-appointed armies at his

his command. The first, led by the Duke of Burgundy, entered Artois, to check the ravages of the few garrisons of the English in that quarter, and reduced Ardes: to the Dukes of Berry and Anjou were entrusted the protection of Auvergne and Guienne; the Constable supported the Gallic interests in Brittany; and Charles, with a chosen detachment, was always prepared to repair any accident, or improve any advantage that might occur from the common chance of war.

A.D.

1377.

1378.

In the course of these operations, a process was commenced against the King of Navarre, accused of an attempt to poison the French Monarch. It is not to be supposed that, from the commencement of this reign, he had been an inactive spectator of the tumultuous scenes that had occurred: he had been occupied in forming, at various times, alliances with both the English and the Gallic Courts, deceiving both, and oftentimes the dupe of his own treachery. Charles, who was convinced that it was not possible to fix the steady adherence of this Prince, was satisfied, if, by temporary measures, he could prevent him from open hostilities: he had been for some time equally neglected by all parties, when the above-mentioned accusation was begun. James le Rue, and Peter du Tertre, his chancellor, and secretary, were condemned and executed by the judgment awarded by the Parliament; and his possessions in the Gallic dominions were pronounced forfeited to that Crown:—a sentence that was rendered effective by the troops commanded

A. D. 1378. commanded by Du Guesclin and the Duke of Bourbon, excepting the town of Cherbourg, which was delivered to the English by the vanquished Prince, to procure the support of that nation.

The descent of the Duke of Lancaster in Brittany, and the investiture of Saint Malo, recalled the attention of Charles to that province. The approach of the Constable, with the gallant defence of the besieged, prevented the progress of the enemy in that quarter; and the English Prince, having sustained a considerable loss, was obliged to abandon his enterprize, and return to England. Among other possessions wrested from the King of Navarre, Montpellier had submitted to the summons of the Duke of Anjou. The large and unusual impositions that had been accorded for the support of the war, were rigorously exacted by this rapacious Prince. The populace, in a sudden tumult, massacred eight-and-twenty of the royal officers; but, too late convinced of their error, to disarm the resentment of Lewis, presented themselves, upon his approach, in solemn procession, to implore his mercy and forgiveness. A severe and cruel sentence was passed upon the trembling inhabitants; when, by the irresistible eloquence of the Cardinal Albano, and a Dominican Friar, the Duke was prevailed upon to modify his decree, to be satisfied with a lessened contribution, and the punishment of the leaders of the sedition.

Having

Having, from the recesses of his cabinet, conducted so many important events with prudence and with judgment, it appears, that Charles was unacquainted with the real dispositions of the Breton Nobility, and had deceived himself in the confidence he had placed in their devoted attachment to his person and service. The successful efforts of his generals had secured the tranquillity of the provinces recovered from the English crown; and, having no longer any thing to fear from the weak and divided administration of that country, he ventured to unfold his impolitic views for the re-annexation of Brittany to his dominions. Upon the pretence of the strict alliance formed by Montfort with the King of England, he obtained, by an arrêt of his Parliament, a sentence against the Duke, of the forfeiture of his duchy: but the measures he had adopted to dispossess that Prince of his territories, proved ultimately the means of his restoration. His subjects, who were in the service or the interests of Charles, had never opposed him, but with the view to induce him to prefer the alliance of France to that of England; and upon this event, excepting Guesclin and Clisson, they withdrew from the Gallic Court, and joined their countrymen in a deputation to invite the return of their Sovereign. The welcome summons was joyfully accepted. Accompanied by a small force, he left the English coasts; and Montfort, so lately the detestation of the Bretons, was every

A. D.

1378.

A. D.
1378.

every where received with the most zealous demonstrations of loyalty and affection.

The union of his countrymen, and, it is likely, the disgust conceived by Du Guesclin at the ambitious views of the King, prevented the success that had hitherto attended the arms of the Constable; and the French Monarch was too readily induced to attend to the insinuations of those evil counsellors, who endeavoured to impress upon his mind a distrust of the fidelity of this faithful servant. Indignant at reports so contrary to the merits of his general character, the honest veteran requested, since his zeal and attachment were doubted, a dismissal from the Gallic service. This open and manly conduct had an immediate effect upon his Sovereign, who was not ashamed to acknowledge and repair his easy credulity, by receiving him again into his confidence and favour; and consented, by his advice, to propose terms of peace to his opponent. But Montfort, either animated by his unexpected restoration, or too much at the mercy of his English allies, to enter into any accommodation without their concurrence, the intended pacification proved abortive; and Du Guesclin more willingly seconded the wishes of the King, in taking the command of the Gallic troops destined to repress the incursions of the English in Guienne and Auvergne.

1380.
July 13.

Having successfully retaken many of the numerous fortresses, or rather fortified castles, with
which

which those provinces abounded, he invested Chateauf-neuf-du-Randon, gallantly defended by a numerous garrison of English and Gascon troops: a place of no importance in itself, but rendered memorable by the loss of Bertrand du Guesclin, the most amiable and the most accomplished general that the nation had ever beheld since the commencement of its monarchy; and the besieged, who had consented to surrender upon the day of his demise, offered a singular tribute of respect and regard to his merits, by repairing to his tent, and laying the keys at the feet of the gallant commander. The death of the Good Constable, for by that honourable appellation was he long distinguished, and to which his candour, integrity, humanity, and liberality, had founded a worthy claim, was deeply lamented by all ranks and conditions of men; and the French Monarch, as a proof of his respect, affection, and gratitude, to this illustrious warrior, performed his obsequies with royal magnificence, and ordered his body to be deposited at the foot of the sepulchre destined to receive his own.

A. D.
1380.

While the nation were lamenting their brave defender, a formidable armament, destined for the support of Montfort, and commanded by Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, landed at Calais. The French Monarch, faithful to his maxim, reiterated his commands to the leaders of the Gallic troops, to avoid an engagement; and the

A. D. 1380. the English army, unable to provoke them to a decisive action, pursued their usual course of destructive ravage, and took the route for Brittany, through the provinces of Maine and Anjou. They had reached the Sarte, which divides those districts, when the sudden information of the near approach of the dissolution of their Sovereign, induced the French commanders to abandon the pursuit of the enemy, and, occupied by cares more interesting to their ambition, dispersed their forces, and hastily returned to Paris.

Sept. 16. Charles, of a constitution naturally weak and delicate, which had been attributed to a deleterious potion administered, during his regency, by the King of Navarre, had hitherto preserved a precarious existence by a strict perseverance in the most temperate and regular mode of life. Aware of his approaching end, perplexed in the choice of a regency to guide the reins of government during the minority of his son, he anxiously weighed the characters of the Princes, approximate to the throne. His natural inclinations led him to prefer the Duke of Bourbon, the brother of his late Queen, the most amiable Prince of his time; but he ventured not, by an exclusion of the paternal uncles of the heir to his crown, to justify, by his partiality, their turbulence, and endanger the tranquillity of the realm.

Unable to determine in what manner to exclude his brothers, more particularly the Duke of Anjou, he

A. D.
1380.


he at length contented himself with verbally entrusting to the Dukes of Burgundy, and Bourbon, his last wishes and intentions; flattering himself, that the former would call to mind the infinite personal obligations he owed to him; and leaving to the latter the sole and absolute care of the education, and the guardianship of his children. Having been removed to a favourite residence in the forest of Vincennes on the Marne, his disorder baffled the united efforts of skill, and change of air; and he breathed his last, at that place, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. To Jane his consort, a daughter of Peter, Duke of Bourbon an exemplary and accomplished Princess, to whom he was passionately attached, he had intended to have entrusted the administration of the kingdom: but her death, not long before this period, prevented that measure; and her demise may be deemed, as circumstances afterwards occurred, a real misfortune to France. By his Queen, Charles left his successor of the same name; with Lewis, Duke of Orleans, and Catherine united to John, Count of Montpensier, the son of the Duke of Berry.

Educated in the school of adversity, this Prince, justly surnamed The Wise, was well qualified, from his consummate prudence, to repair the errors committed by a precipitancy of conduct in the foregoing reigns. Called to the throne at a period of time, when, adverting to former commotions, it

was

A. D.
1380.

was thought indispensable, to prevent the total subversion of the monarchy, that a warrior should succeed to the direction of the government,—Charles fully exemplified, in his own person, the vast superiority that a reflective and well-tempered policy obtains, over the dazzling splendour of military achievements; and from the recesses of his cabinet regained, without a battle, the various domains that had been lost to his country, by the impetuous valour, and the ill-governed violence of his predecessors.

Descended from a father who was more likely to destroy than advance the natural endowments of his mind, his uncultivated genius broke through the fetters imposed upon him by impolicy and distrust; and France, guided by his sagacious and vigorous administration, again resumed her ancient and accustomed ascendancy in the politics of Europe. In a debilitated frame, his active and intelligent mind was ever prepared to take advantage of every circumstance that could tend, either to accelerate the interest, or promote the happiness of his people. With an eye to penetrate into, and with a hand to remunerate, intrinsic merit, he united the rare, but happy talent, of conciliating the affections, not only of his subjects in general, but of all those whom he drew to his Court, or to his service.

Never was a Prince served with more zealous attachment, with more real sincerity, or with more

implicit obedience : even his brothers, proud, turbulent, and ambitious, were restrained, during his life, from any open avowal of their pursuits ; and, becoming his most active and submissive generals, with cheerfulness acted in a subordinate capacity to any commander whom he directed to conduct his armies---a signal instance given, in that of Du Guesclin, their inferior, and a stranger.

A. D.

1380.

Calm without frigidity, his cool and temporising policy, which may, perhaps, upon some occasions, have been carried too far, preserved him in those perilous situations to which his early entrance into a regency of commotion and tumult might have involved him. Neither depressed by adversity, nor inflated by prosperous fortune,—he was at all times, and upon all occasions, equally moderate, provident, and circumspect ; adopting measures, and executing plans, before he was even suspected to deliberate. Anxiously demanding advice, he deliberately weighed the counsels of all : never ashamed to reform his own judgments, he chose the best that were offered to his reflexion ; and not ever governed by the favourites of the court,—he preserved a perfect freedom and consistency in his deliberations and decrees.

His military enterprises, before the recommencement of a campaign, were maturely proposed and canvassed in his presence ; which gave occasion to the repeated exclamations of the English Monarch, when he observed, “ that no one had so seldom

A.D. 1380. drawn the sword, and yet had given him more employment and inquietude, than his wary and politic rival."

The economy of this Prince was rigid and exact; yet he knew how to preserve the just medium between avarice and prodigality: steady in his decisions, he restored vigour to the laws, while the mildness of his disposition, and the goodness of his heart, attempered the severity, and repressed the extremities of justice. To his Parliament he recovered the credit and authority which had been so much shaken, and impaired by the recent confusions that had weakened the State: assisting himself at that respectable tribunal, he caused the judgments therein passed, to be executed with strict and impartial dispatch, introducing into the administrative body, only those whose characters were distinguished by abilities, integrity, and learning.

Regular in his domestic life, exact in his religious duties, no deviation of moral conduct can be attributed to the private deportment of Charles. Entertaining a proper idea of the essential duties incumbent upon a Sovereign, he pursued the true road to glory, by an indefatigable endeavour to secure the felicity of the nation, entrusted to his care; frequently saying, "that he could not perceive in what consisted the happiness of a Sovereign, excepting in the power of doing good;"—an aphorism that reflects eternal honour upon the memory of this Prince!

Upon

Upon those occasions that involved the appearance of the Monarch, and the dignity of the Crown, he was splendid, and magnificent ; but, at other times, nothing could exceed the extreme simplicity, and the careful frugality of his domestic establishments. By sumptuary laws, rendered efficacious by his example, he repressed luxury, and restrained the excesses to which games of hazard had been unwarrantably carried. He encouraged industry ; rendered the public roads easy, and secure for travellers : and by these salutary measures, establishing a communication between distant districts, repeopling a depopulated kingdom,—he caused tranquillity and order to re-assume their influence in the exhausted and desolated provinces.

A. D.
1380.

Charles has been arraigned for his infraction of the treaty of Bretigny ; but if the severe and unjustifiable proceedings of the King of England, from the accession of the House of Valois, be candidly considered, the impartial reader cannot fail to justify the measure, that was adopted by this Prince, to recover what his ancestors had lost ; and had he long survived his splendid opponents, we may allow ourselves, from his character, to suppose that he would have been satisfied with what he had restored to the State, without wishing to extend the objects of interest or ambition.

Not with the same favourable reflections can we review his conduct towards the Duke of Brittany ; and yet the forfeiture of moderation, in this one

A. D. 1380. instance, may be somewhat extenuated, by the easy entrance afforded, by that Prince, through his dominions, into those of the Gallic Monarch, and the invariable attachment of Montfort to the King of England.

That he was personally beloved, and his administration respected by the nation in general, may be justly inferred, from the few instances of murmur and complaint that are to be met with during his reign,—if we omit the tumults, excited at Montpellier, to oppose the authority of the Duke of Anjou, a rapacious and a violent Prince!—No other events but of a trifling nature occur, to disturb the internal tranquillity of his government.

Notwithstanding the wars in which he was engaged, the resources derived from his economy were inexhaustible; it being computed that at his death he had amassed the immense sum of a hundred and seventy millions of livres, of the present currency; but it is to be lamented, that the imposts that had been so cheerfully conceded for the support of the State, at a critical and necessary juncture, should not have been suppressed, or even abated, until he approached to the last hours of his life,—when, having commanded an ordonnance for that purpose, and under his own inspection, to be prepared, he strictly enjoined those to whom was to be entrusted the administration of his kingdom, during the minority of his son, to see it carried into execution.

To

A. D.
1380.

To his natural affability, he united an eloquence, that he had, upon some occasions, found to be of service to his affairs. He loved and protected the sciences; and has been honourably distinguished, as the founder of the royal library at Paris, having collected nine hundred volumes; a prodigious number, at a time anterior to the discovery of the art of printing, if the difficulty and delay of transcribing be considered! Few of them were indeed of much value, excepting the translations from some approved Roman authors: the rest, consisting of legendary tales, and a wretched compilation of superstition, intermixed with books of astrology, to which this Monarch was much addicted,—leave us room to judge of the extreme credulity of the age, when this Prince, one of the most wise and reflective individuals of the period in which he lived, was so strongly tinctured with the weakness of the times.

But while France, and the West of Europe, were still involved in ignorance; Italy, towards the close of the last, and the present century, had begun to emerge from the barbarism that had overshadowed the arts, from the decline of the Roman Empire. Their cities were far superior, in point of magnificence and taste; ease, affluence, and industry, had introduced, with rather more polished manners, architecture, painting, and music; while poetry, oratory, and rhetoric, were cultivated with success.

A. D.
1380.

Dante flourished, towards the end of the thirteenth century ; and the elegant and distinguished Petrarch, at the commencement of the fourteenth, and who, alternately warmed by love and glory, was honoured and esteemed in his own country, and respected and caressed in foreign Courts. The fountain of Vaucluse, the streams of Sorga, and the charms of Laura, refounded in his descriptive and pathetic songs : and Rome, in honour to his worth and talents, renewed, in his favour, the almost forgotten decoration of the laureat crown. To this author the Italian language is much indebted for its sweetness, and its strength ; but the glory of having made it subservient to the purposes of music, has been reserved for a modern writer,—the tender and the exquisite Metastasio !

Cimmabue, a Florentine by birth, revived the art of painting in the thirteenth century : Brunelleschi began to reform the Gothic architecture ; and Guido Aretine had, some time before, invented those notes for music, which are generally received. At this period of time, Alexander Spina, a Dominican monk, discovered the happy as useful art of assisting the decays of sight, by means of glasses, called Vefecles ; and in the fourteenth century, the valuable discovery was made of manufacturing paper, from linen rags ; and above a hundred years antecedent to the art
of

of printing, gunpowder, supposed to have been invented by Berthelo Swartz, a native of Fribourg, was previously familiar to Roger Bacon, an English philosopher in the thirteenth century, and used by the Chinese, for the purposes of ornamental fire-works, and in various other forms.

A. D.
1380.



CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE SIXTH.

THE disputes and characters of the uncles of the young Monarch—the Duke of Anjou Regent—Tumults—The coronation of Charles—The English army retire into Brittany—A truce—Affairs of the Pontificate—Sedition of the Mallotins—The Duke of Anjou nominated successor to Joan, Queen of Naples—The fate of that Princess; and the departure of the Duke—The Flemish war—The severity exercised upon the Parisians—Hostilities between France and England—A truce—The fate of the Duke of Anjou—Three unsuccessful attempts to invade England—Charles assumes the reins of government—Festivities of the Court—His expeditions to Avignon, and into Languedoc—The expedition of the Duke of Bourbon—Assassination of the Constable—War with Brittany prevented by the frenzy of the King—The Dukes of Berry and Burgundy assume the government—Strange accident, and relapse of Charles—An interview, and truce with Richard, King of England—Genoa acknowledges the sovereignty of France—Military exploits—The struggles of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy for the government—Death of the latter—John, his son and successor, aspires to the administration—Assassination of the Duke of Orleans—Its consequences—Genoa revolts—Civil war—Disorders in Paris—Invasion of France by Henry the Fifth—Battle of Azincour—A truce—Civil war recommenced—The demise of the Dauphins, Lewis, and John—The severe administration of the Count of Armagnac—Isabel is confined—Invites the Duke of Burgundy to her relief—The progress of his arms—The English Monarch again invades France—His success—The misery of the kingdom—Dreadful massacres in Paris—The triumph of the Burgundians—Assassination of the Duke of Burgundy—The violent proceedings in consequence of that event—The treaty of Troyes—The King of England assumes the administration—The condemnation of the Dauphin—He supports a defensive war—The progress of Henry—The demise of that Prince—The Duke of Bedford Regent—Death, and character of Charles.

A. D.
1380.
Sept. 16.

WITH Charles expired the guardian genius of the Monarchy: and France, rescued by his wisdom,

A. D.
1380.


dom, relapsed, at his demise, into all those miseries she had previously experienced. Before the last duties of humanity were performed, the horrors of civil discord menaced the devoted country; and the nation seemed preparing to celebrate his obsequies, by sacrificing themselves upon the tomb of their departed Sovereign. The funeral honours were retarded by the misunderstanding of the royal brothers: all were around the dying Monarch; but not one attended to close his eyes. Anxious to secure the person of his successor, they hastily repaired to Melun, where the King and his younger brother then resided; while the Duke of Anjou, who had been enjoined to remain in his government, informed of the hopeless situation of Charles, hastily departed from Angers, and arrived almost at the instant in which he breathed his last. Seizing upon the treasures, the jewels, and every valuable personal appendage of the crown, he at once obtained, by this infallible resource, the pre-eminence in the administration to which he aspired.

No more restrained by the deference due to the rank, and by the respect which they had not been able to withhold from the virtues of the deceased Sovereign, the Princes attempted not any longer to conceal the ambition by which they were inflamed. The Court was divided;—each assembled his friends and adherents, and secretly allured to his standard all such as, actuated by the hope of plunder, repaired to the scene of action, to partake

A. D.

1380.

in the spoils. Lewis, Duke of Anjou, unfortunately the first in power, was the least respectable, as the most dangerous of the leaders, upon whom the destiny of France depended. Adorned with exterior graces, with eloquence, valour, and wit, he was ambitious, avaricious, cruel, and unjust. The Duke of Berry, a Prince destitute of virtue, would have possessed the same vices that distinguished his brother, had they not been moderated by abilities beneath mediocrity, and by a destructive as invincible indolence: besides which, his indiscriminate prodigality was carried to the most unexampled excess. The Duke of Burgundy enjoyed, without contradiction, more splendid and more estimable qualities: with an undaunted courage, which distinguished him from his earliest youth, he was generous and magnificent; and united the most conciliating affability to a liberality of manners—the more to be feared when joined to the same unbounded rapacity, the same inordinate love of power, so highly conspicuous in the above-mentioned Princes. The disinterested integrity, and the assuasive manners of the Duke of Bourbon, the maternal uncle of the young Monarch, although they could oppose but a feeble barrier to their ambition, conciliated a general esteem; and sanctified the penetration of Charles, whose wishes would have induced him to have solely confided, not only the reins of government to his hands, but likewise the education of his son

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A. D.
1380.


—the only one perhaps worthy, by his probity and wisdom, to succeed to the late vigorous administration. His birth, however, fatally for France, had placed him in a situation subordinate to the brothers of the departed Monarch.

The pretensions of the Duke of Anjou, both to the regency, and to the tutelage of his nephew, debated in a Council composed of Peers, Prelates, and the most enlightened persons drawn from the Parliament, threatened an immediate rupture between the rival Princes,—when the illustrious pretenders were prevailed upon to submit to a respectable arbitration, the limits that should be prescribed to their authority. A resolution was adopted, to advance the majority of Charles, who had not completed his fourteenth year, by his consecration at Rheims, as speedily as it could be effected. To the Duke of Anjou was left the regency, until that event should take place; but the persons of the King and his brother were confirmed to the care of the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, to whom they had been confided.

The regency, short as was its duration, was attended with tumult and disorder. The troops that had been drawn to Paris, to second the pretensions of the rival Dukes, not having received their stipulated pay, and at length disbanded by Lewis, preyed upon the industry of the inhabitants of that city, and those employed in agriculture. The people, wearied by their excesses, and disappointed
of

A. D.
1380.

of the promised suppression of the subsidies, began to murmur; when, instead of the indulgence they had been taught to expect, they found new burdens imposed; and, induced by the severity of the tax-gatherers, arose at Compiègne, and some places in Picardy. The contagion spreading to the capital, the Regent was compelled to promise, upon their forbearance, a speedy relief; and, informed of a hidden treasure at Melun, his menaces obtained him the knowledge of the place of concealment, which he seized for the furtherance of his ambitious purposes: and thus those sums, so carefully amassed by the late Monarch for the use of his son, were now destined to be wasted in a fruitless expedition into a foreign country. Such is the futility of human foresight! Far better is it, by a just and a moderate government, and by laying no check upon the industry of a nation, to ascertain, in their affluence and affections, an inexhaustible fund of wealth, to be called forth, whenever the critical situation of the kingdom may require an exertion of their patriotism and support.

Nov. 3. This unjustifiable act was the last of the regency of Lewis. The coronation of Charles, preceded by his admission into the order of knighthood, was performed at Rheims, with all the pomp and magnificence of which the age was susceptible; and the rejoicings that followed his splendid entrance into the capital, were soon again disturbed by the discontentment of the people. The late ministers were

were disgraced, or voluntarily withdrawn from an assured persecution: while the populace, calling aloud for a diminution of the taxes, assaulted the houses of the collectors, many of whom were Jews; demolished the registers, and massacred a number of the people, who, with their relatives and connexions, were, in every popular commotion, certain objects of the fury of the multitude. The Court, alarmed at the extremities to which they were proceeding, drew up a hasty ordinance, which was immediately issued, abolishing every subsidy that had been enacted from the commencement of the reign of Philip the Fair. The disunion of the Princes fostered these political disorders. The Dukes of Berry and Burgundy demanded and obtained the governments of Languedoc and Normandy; and administered those provinces with a full and independent sovereignty.

A. D.

1380.

The dismemberment of the kingdom, and the division of the treasures of the State, were insufficient to preserve a momentary concord between the uncles of the King, whose only object seemed to have been, the pursuit of their own interests: and while, with their adherents, they were thus more ambitious to share the spoils, than zealous for the honour and preservation of their country; the English army, under the command of the Earl of Buckingham, better known by his subsequent title of the Duke of Gloucester, now no longer harassed
by

A. D.

1381.



by the Gallic troops, who had abandoned their pursuit to attend to the late events in the capital, reached in safety the territories of the Duke of Brittany; and commenced the siege of Nantes, the only place of consequence in that province that remained in the hands of the French. Montfort, induced by the remonstrances of the Breton Nobility; and convinced that their insurmountable objections to his English allies would prevent a peaceable enjoyment of his dominions, had, in the mean time, entered into a negociation with the Court of Charles;—when, having obtained advantageous terms of pacification, he withdrew himself from their alliance, and Buckingham returned to England.

The war between France and that country was pursued with languor. Either nation, under similar disadvantages of a weak and divided minority, was equally the prey of the rapacious uncles of their Sovereigns; both subjected to the same tumults and insurrections, were, alike, averse to the continuation of hostilities. The respective administrations therefore mutually agreed to a short suspension of arms. The great Papal schism which, at this time, divided the Church, tended to increase the internal disorders of the kingdom. Gregory the Eleventh, who had restored to Rome the residence of her Pontiff, had been succeeded in the chair of St. Peter, by Urban the Sixth, an Italian by birth; but the Cardinals, having been compelled, by the
tumultuous

tumultuous Romans, to this sudden decision, had retired, soon after the elevation, to Fondi; and opposed to the authority of the Holy Father, a native of Geneva, who assumed the name of Clement the Sixth; and, being acknowledged by the French Court, established his residence at Avignon. His opponent was, however, recognised by almost all the other Powers of Europe; and he had no resource but in the protection of the Duke of Anjou, with whose concurrence he exercised an unbounded authority in his ecclesiastical capacity; appropriating to himself the half of the Gallic benefices for the support of his Court; and assisting to impoverish the kingdom by every act that avarice, through the medium of superstition, could invent.

A. D.

1381.

Attempts to renew the imposts that had been recently suppressed, excited again the former disturbances. At Rouen the collectors were massacred; and the King proceeding, with some troops, to that city, the leaders of the sedition were executed, and the inhabitants compelled to submission. The lower orders of the Parisians, unawed by this example, arose in arms, and carried their resentments to the most cruel and unwarrantable excesses. Armed with leaden mallets, from whence they were styled Mallotins, they pillaged, and destroyed the city, murdered all who ventured to oppose them; and Paris presented to the spectator the wretched semblance of a town
that

1382.

A. D.

1382.

that had been taken by assault. The news of this revolt having reached the King at Rouen, the royal troops returned to chastise the capital. The insurgents were determined upon resistance. The most respectable citizens, with Desmarets, the advocate-general, ventured to mediate between the ungoverned fury of the multitude, and the vengeance of the Court: with some exceptions, they obtained a general pardon for the revolt, and, upon the immediate contribution of one hundred thousand francs, a recall of the obnoxious taxes. But the ferment which still subsisted in the minds of the people, prevented the exemplary punishment intended, of the reserved victims; and in the silence of the night, they were secretly committed to the Seine—a mode of execution very common to criminals in that period!

Twice had the Administration ceded to necessity, and abolished the imposts; but the desire to recover them still remained the same: prayers, menaces, negotiation, were all ineffectually attempted to procure them reiteration. The States-general were assembled, in the hope that they would be more compliant; but the representatives were equally inflexible: the deputies of Sens alone consented to the wishes of the Court; and, upon their return to that city, the inhabitants refused their concurrence. This general opposition, from all the provinces, was fomented by the invincible obstinacy of the capital. The Duke of Anjou, to
whose

whose rapacity these recent disasters may be justly imputed, had been nominated, some months before the death of the late King, by Joan, Queen of Naples, her successor to that kingdom:—hence, to obtain the possession of the splendid gift, he had been invariably occupied, from the accession of the young monarch, in accumulating the means to support his pretensions.

A. D.
1382.

That unfortunate Princess had succeeded to the throne of her grandfather, Robert of Anjou, son to Charles the Lamé, who, although he had failed in his endeavours to recover Sicily to his dominions, had rendered Naples a flourishing kingdom. Joan had been early espoused to Andrew, brother to Lewis of Anjou, King of Hungary. The assassination of that Prince in the anti-chamber of his consort, and her immediate union with the Prince of Tarentum, publicly accused as the murderer of her husband, confirmed the general opinion of her participation in the deed. Upon this event, she had been forced, by the adherents to the Hungarian Monarch, to retire into Provence; but soon after found the means to resume her former authority in her capital. In the Papal schism, that divided the church, she had imprudently espoused the part of Clement; and, having no direct heirs to the crown, adopted, as her successor, Charles Durazzo, a descendant of the Angevin line. Unwilling to wait until the natural death of his benefactress should assure him the

A.D.

1382.



quiet possession of her throne, the perfidious and ungrateful Prince associated himself with Urban, the decided enemy of Joan; and obtained from the arrogant Pontiff, with the deposition and excommunication of the Queen, the investiture of her kingdom.

In this extremity, with the offer of the succession, Joan had called to her assistance, Lewis, Count of Anjou: but, while he consumed that time that might have enabled him to succour his adoptive mother, in irresolute preparations, and negotiations, his more active competitor for her kingdom had advanced, with a formidable army, to Naples; and, having obtained the person of the ill-fated Queen, consigned her to an ignominious end. The crimes and irregularities that have been affixed to her memory, are softened by her misfortunes: and the errors of her conduct admit of some alleviation, from the zealous protection and encouragement she bestowed on the learned, and the liberal support she invariably gave to the fine arts. Celebrated by Boccace, and by Petrarch, the life, the character, and the catastrophe, of this Princess, are compared, by a modern writer, to that of the no less unfortunate, as elegant, Mary, Queen of Scots.

While this tragical event took place in Italy, the Duke of Anjou, with the spoils of France, and with a large and well-appointed force, to the joy of the court and the kingdom, quitted the dominions
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of Charles. Proceeding to Avignon, he obtained, through the medium of Clement, the submission of the Provençals; and soon after commenced his march into Italy. His departure threw the reins of government principally into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, who was not dilatory in promoting an expedition into Flanders, to succour his father-in-law, Lewis, Count of that province. The dominions of that Prince, from the excessive burdens imposed for the support of a dissolute and voluptuous Court, had been, for some time, the theatre of tumult and disorder. A sanguinary civil war had commenced with the revolt of the people of Ghent, who had chosen, for their leader, Philip of Arteville, an opulent citizen, the son of James, who had distinguished himself in the reign of Philip of Valois. Intrepid, eloquent, and cautious, he had obtained the public confidence by various successes against the armies of his sovereign; and, excepting the town of Oudenarde, and a few places of little importance, all Flanders had revolted to the standard of this popular demagogue.

A. D.

1382.

Inflated by success, Arteville had already assumed the state of a sovereign prince, and had laid siege to Oudenarde, with a hundred thousand men, when Lewis applied for succour to the Gallic Court. Charles, with youthful ardour, warmly entered into the cause of his vassal; and, in spite of the opposition of the wiser part of his council,

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A.D.

1382.

determined to lead, in person, a considerable force to his assistance. Having entered the Flemish territories, a division of the army, under the Constable De Clifson, forced the passage of the bridge of Comines, defended by a strong detachment, and passed the Lys. This first advantage was followed by the reduction of Ypres, Bergues, Cassel, and other towns in the vicinity. The Flemings, impatient to attack the enemy, imprudently determined to hazard a general engagement. Both armies came in sight on the plains near the village of Rosbec: the veteran troops of the French Monarch prevailed over the undisciplined populace that were led by Arteville: with the loss of their leader, and with a prodigious slaughter, they were utterly defeated. The confirmation of this victory animated the besieged at Oudenarde: in a sally, nine hundred of the revolvers were put to the sword; and the Gallic army, proceeding from the field of battle to Courtray, that city submitted to the victors. The Duke of Burgundy re-established his father-in-law in his dominions; and, taking advantage of the orders that had been given by Arteville, to shew no quarter to the French, retaliated, by the most barbarous inhumanities, upon the Flemings. So soon as the young Monarch, with his suite, had departed from the city, his troops commenced a most wanton, indiscriminate massacre of the wretched inhabitants; and having plundered the town, it was afterwards delivered up to the flames.

flames. It was in vain that the unfortunate citizens every where submitted: those who had not partaken in the revolt were equally doomed to suffer with the guilty; and all Flanders was compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of Lewis, excepting the people of Ghent, who were only protected from the like fate, from the advanced season of the year.

A. D.
1382.

The absence of the King had renewed the disturbances in Paris; and the return of Charles, with a victorious army, offered too favourable an opportunity to humble the turbulent dispositions of the Parisians, to be passed by unregarded. Entering his capital, as a conqueror, surrounded by the princes, and the nobility, the gates were thrown down, the chains and barriers withdrawn, and the troops distributed in the different quarters of the city. Three hundred of the principal burghers were seized; and, so soon as the citizens were compelled to deliver up their arms, the executions were commenced. The advocate-general Desmarets was the first victim who was led to expiate upon the scaffold, the crimes of others. This venerable magistrate, burdened with years, and with infirmities, whose merits and eloquence had frequently been the means of silencing tumult and sedition; who had faithfully served the three last Sovereigns, and had been highly distinguished by those Monarchs for his prudence, capacity, and zealous attachment; was now doomed, without a

1383.

A.D.

1383.

trial, to close his life by an ignominious end; the more deplorable, as not any crime was alledged to justify this shameful violation of justice. For fifteen days the obnoxious Parisians were put to death by various modes of punishment; when, at length fatiated with slaughter, money became the recompence for blood; and the condemned objects of resentment, who had not yet suffered, were permitted to redeem their lives by pecuniary considerations. The privileges of the city were withdrawn; an immense contribution was exacted from the inhabitants; the aids, gabelle, and all suppressed imposts, were re-established, and rigorously exacted. The cities of Orleans, Rouen, and others, were chastised in the same manner; yet so disproportioned were the sums, however immense, that were thus raised, compared to the rapaciousness of the Court, that the army were disbanded, unpaid; and dispersed not, until they had spread ruin and desolation in the environs of the wretched city. Is it surprising that,—when, some few years subsequently to this event, a furious populace obtained the ascendancy, they should have so severely retaliated this arbitrary abuse of power upon those who were the causes of their sufferings and disgrace!

The victory of Rosbec aroused the lethargic indolence of the English nation: and the ministers now repented of their impolitic refusal of the assistance that had been demanded, before that event, by Arteville; justly apprehending, that
Flanders,

Flanders, once subdued, the French Monarch would naturally turn his arms to the recovery of Calais.

A. D.
1383.

Animated by the exhortations of Urban, who published a crusade in England against all such as should adhere to the cause of Clement ; the warlike Bishop of Norwich was entrusted with a force, to assist the people of Ghent, who still persevered in their resistance to their Sovereign. Having captured Gravelines, Bourbourg, and Dunkirk, with the greater part of maritime Flanders, and entirely defeated the Count, who opposed him with an army of thirty thousand men—the spiritual leader invested Ypres. With a numerous army, and attended by the Duke of Brittany, with the flower of his Nobility, the King of France advanced, to arrest the progress of the English arms. The prelate, whose troops were not adequate to oppose so formidable a power, retreated to Dunkirk, and soon after repassed the sea. Charles recovered the captured towns ; and the desultory freebooters, of which the levies of his opponent had been composed, were suffered, with the spoils of the Flemish province, to reach Calais in safety.

A short truce suspended the hostilities between France and England, in which the people of Ghent were included : and pending the negotiation for this accommodation, the death of Lewis, Count of Flanders, the last male heir of the line of Bethune, left open the succession to that fertile, wealthy, and commercial country, to the Duke

A. D. of Burgundy, who, by this valuable acquisition,
 1383. became one of the most rich, and, consequently,
 one of the most powerful Princes of Europe.

1384. In Italy, the Duke of Anjou had penetrated to
 Aquila, without having met with any thing to op-
 pose his pretensions. Having caused himself to be
 consecrated in that city, he assumed the titles of
 King of Sicily, Jerusalem, and Count of Provence.
 Charles of Durazzo, his more politic rival, judging
 it not expedient to expose a crown, of which he
 was already possessed, to the uncertain chance of a
 battle, cut off the supplies of the Angevins; and,
 acting entirely on the defensive, flattered himself,
 by this wary conduct, to disperse, without a blow,
 the army of his opponent. As he had foreseen, the
 vast sums that had been accumulated by Lewis, for
 the support of his expedition, were soon exhausted,
 to retain his venal followers: new supplies, that
 were obtained from his adherents in France, were
 dissipated by the perfidy of Peter de Craon, to
 whom they had been entrusted. Famine, the heat
 of the climate, and a contagious disorder, daily
 reduced his dispirited forces. Baffled in every at-
 tempt to draw his opponent into action, and
 wounded in a skirmish, the Gallic Prince retired
 to the castle of Bisega, near Bari, where, over-
 whelmed with mortification and despair, his cha-
 grins brought him, in the forty-fifth year of his
 age, to an untimely grave. His son, of the same
 name, under the protection of the French Court,


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was acknowledged the Sovereign of Provence ; and thus terminated this fatal enterprize, in which had been expended the vast treasures that had been so unjustly withdrawn from France ; and not a tenth of the once-flourishing army survived to reach their native land.

A. D.
1384.

Upon the expiration of the truce with England, the Gallic Monarch, who ardently thirsted to distinguish himself by some military exploit, determined to re-commence the war with a vigorous descent upon the dominions of the King of England ; the more encouraged to this measure, by the departure of the Duke of Lancaster, with the flower of the military force of that kingdom, in his ineffectual attempt upon the Castilian crown, and by the dissentions that prevailed in the councils of Richard. The Duke of Burgundy undertook to assemble, at the port of Ecluse, in his Flemish territories, a large naval armament : troops were collected from all the provinces ; new loans were exacted from the clergy, and rich burghers ; the imposts were doubled ; the levies enforced with the utmost rigour ; and the admiral, John de Vienne, was deputed to pass, with a small army, into Scotland, to unite against the English in that quarter.

Alarmed at these hostile preparations, the King of England was not dilatory in his endeavours to render abortive the plans of his opponent. Against the Scotch he marched with sixty thousand men ; reduced Edinburgh, Perth, and other cities, to ashes ;

A. D. 1385.  ashes; and secured himself against an immediate invasion from that country;—when the intended enterprize of the Gallic arms was averted, by an event which should rather have hastened, than have retarded, the execution. A conspiracy had been projected at Dam, to burn the French fleet in the harbour of Ecluse: the ringleaders were betrayed, and atoned for the meditated treachery, by a sudden and ignominious end: and the Duke of Burgundy artfully prevailed upon the young Monarch, to employ the troops destined for the dominions of Richard, in subduing that part of Flanders that still refused to acknowledge his authority.

Thus insensibly led to turn his arms against the Flemings, Charles, in person, invested Dam. The town being taken by assault, was pillaged, and devoted to the flames. The rapid success that followed this capture, overcame the inflexible obstinacy of the people of Ghent, who requested a cessation of arms. The Duke of Burgundy, whose interest led him to a willing concurrence with their wishes, to restore opulence to a country nearly destroyed by the continual ravages it had, for some years, experienced—consented, upon their renunciation of all connexion with the English Court, to bury in oblivion their past revolts; and, having entirely established his authority in his Flemish dominions, encouraged the French Monarch to resume the projected invasion of England,—which again commenced with uncommon vigour and preparation,

preparation, notwithstanding the vast, as useless expence, incurred the preceding reign. An immense fleet, computed at the incredible amount of fifteen hundred vessels, was assembled at Ecluse, with an army correspondent to the naval equipment:—a prodigious floating machine was constructed, to protect the troops in their descent, and afterwards to take to pieces, to form temporary places of habitation. The nation seemed to be warmed by the same enthusiasm that actuated the King and the Nobility, who lavished immense sums in the most costly ornaments for their peculiar vessels, assembled for the intended enterprise, as repairing to an assured, and to a speedy conquest; but this mighty armament proved, as before, to be abortive. In waiting for the Duke of Berry, with his division of the forces, the equinoctial season arrived; the provisions collected were consumed, or spoiled by delay; the sums destined for the support of the troops were dissipated by the Princes, in idle expences; a large reinforcement from Brittany was dispersed by a tempest, or wrecked on the coast of England; and the quarter part of the vessels at Ecluse were stranded upon the territories of the Duke of Burgundy.

The deplorable issue of this ill-concerted enterprise, predicted fatal consequences to the government of Charles. His ministers endeavoured to conceal from him the cause of the miscarriage, proceeding from the treachery, disunion, and rapacity

A. D. 1385. city of his uncles, by a variety of expensive Court-diversions; and, with difficulty, the army, before its dispersion, prevented a general insurrection of the people. Fruitless as had been the late attempt, in the ensuing year it was resumed. The Constable was deputed to pass into Brittany, and De Vienne into Normandy, to assemble, in the ports of the provinces, a fleet which was destined to rendezvous at Harfleur. By a strange fatality, the project was again baffled by the private resentments of Montfort against Du Clifton. Long the determined enemy of this powerful subject, a late alliance that had been formed by the Constable with John of Penthievre, son to Charles of Blois, the former competitor for Brittany, renewed the animosity of the Duke. Having artfully obtained the person of Clifton, he was with difficulty prevented from sacrificing to his rage that popular commander; and at length restored him to liberty, but in consideration of an immense ransom, with the surrender of a part of his possessions in the above-mentioned provinces.

1388. The Gallic Monarch, justly incensed at the indignity offered to the first officer of his crown, was prevented, by the interference of his uncles, the avowed enemies of the Constable, from resenting the affront. But Charles was now advancing to that period of life, when the mind suffers with pain whatever tends to restrain its freedom of action. He had been, for some time, impatient of controul; and

and had formed his plans to emancipate himself from the tutelage of the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy : and, upon his return from a futile expedition against the Duke of Guelderland, which, while it had assisted to distress his finances, had been contrived to divert his attention from the clamours of the people, and the internal disorders of the State—he convened, at Rheims, a numerous meeting of the Princes, Nobles, and Prelates, of the kingdom, where he announced, with his resolution to form a new council, his determination to direct, himself, the reins of government.

A. D.
1388.

However surprised at this unexpected event, the Princes found, that the measures of the King had been too well concerted, to promise any success to their opposition ; and, not being nominated to any share in the administration, they retired in disgust to the territories dependent upon their authority. Upon their departure, Charles discovered symptoms of genius and spirit that renewed the drooping hopes of the nation. The Duke of Bourbon, and several of the old ministers of his father, were allowed to partake in the government ; the taxes were somewhat abated ; the expences of the Court moderated ; a few trifling reforms took place ; and the condescending manners of the Sovereign, the graces of his person, his accomplishments in all feats of activity, and the good-nature conspicuous in his reception of the complaints of his subjects, obtained him the truly valuable appellation, when deserved,

A. D.
1388.

deserved, of the "Well-beloved." A negotiation was renewed, to establish a peace with the King of England: but an event, apparently desired by both nations, terminated in a suspension of arms, for the period of three years.

Repose was ill suited to the ardent temper of Charles. To occupy a mind that was never at rest, he indulged his natural inclinations for public spectacles, feasts, and diversions. A splendid tournament was celebrated, to admit the sons of the Duke of Anjou, and the young Nobility, into the order of Chivalry; a grand procession, and solemn service, were performed to the memory of Guefflin, who was honoured with a funeral oration in the church of St. Denis; the union of the Duke of Orleans, brother to the King, with Valentina of Milan, gave occasion to a repetition of rejoicings; and the public entry and coronation of Isabel of Bavaria, to whom the French Monarch had been for some time espoused, continued those varied scenes of public festivity. The inhabitants of Paris, upon the latter event, distinguished themselves by the value of their presents, amounting to sixty thousand crowns of gold, in expectation that their zeal would be rewarded by a moderation of the imposts: but, to defray these splendid entertainments, the gabelle was increased, and the specie underwent so material an alteration, extending to the most trifling coin, as to be severely felt in its consequences throughout the whole kingdom.

Desirous

Desirous to take advantage of the calm which the late treaty afforded, the young Monarch made a progress through different parts of his dominions; a politic measure, by which to augment the popularity that he had gained! as the fidelity and affection of the multitude are never so much awakened, as by the personal knowledge of the condescending manners, and the practised benevolence of the Sovereign; who, by viewing, with the eyes of a political parent, the depression, and the wants of his people, may form a more just estimate of their happiness or misery, through the medium of his own observations, than from the insinuations of those whose interest it is to flatter, and deceive; and thereby lay a more deserved claim to their loyalty and support.

A. D.
1389.

In his visit to Clement, at Avignon, he had the satisfaction to be present at the ceremonial of the coronation of Lewis of Anjou, by the hands of that Pontiff, as Sovereign of Sicily and Naples; and received the news of the death of Urban, at Rome, whose barbarity against the adherents of his opponents equalled the cruelty of the most ferocious tyrant recorded in history: nor did his demise contribute to the authority of Clement, as the Romans elevated to the chair of St. Peter, a Neapolitan, who assumed the name of Boniface the Ninth. Since the death of the Duke of Anjou, Naples had been agitated by the rival factions. Ladislaus succeeded to the crown, upon the death of his father,

A. D. 1389. father, Charles of Durazzo. The son of Lewis, Duke of Anjou, supported by the Provençals, got possession of the contested city ; but, although the Angevin Prince knew how to conquer, he wanted judgment to take advantage of his success ; and he was again driven out by his more active opponent.

From Avignon the Gallic Monarch proceeded to Montpellier, where he passed twelve days in continual scenes of festivity and excess. More serious occupations succeeded the pleasures of that city, and which had been the principal motive of his journey. Languedoc had long groaned under the unexampled tyranny of the Duke of Berry : the representations that had been made to him of the barbarous depredations committed on the inhabitants, he found exceeded by the misery he witnessed : above forty thousand persons had, in a short space of time, taken refuge in Arragon, and in the adjacent provinces : that beautiful and fertile country threatened a speedy depopulation, and called loudly for redress. The conduct of Beterac, the rigorous administrator placed over them by the Duke of Berry, was scrupulously investigated : an ignominious end was the recompence of the abuse he had made of his power—a deserved, and a meritorious example, had justice, rather than the passions of the ministers, actuated his sentence. His royal employer endeavoured, but in vain, to arrest his fate, and shared his disgrace, in being deprived of the government of the oppressed province.

The tranquillity of the kingdom seems to have been as little pleasing to the Nobility, as to their Sovereign. The Duke of Bourbon, whose disposition was better adapted to the tumult of arms, than to the deliberations of the cabinet,—with some illustrious adventurers, and fifteen hundred men, united his force with an English armament, led by the son of the Duke of Lancaster, to assist the Genoese in a descent upon the coast of Tunis; and besieged Carthage. Reduced to almost the same perilous situation to which St. Lewis had been before exposed—the allies, more fortunate in their retreat, obtained an honourable treaty with the Mahometan Princes; but the commerce of the Levant, at that time principally in the hands of the Venetians, Neapolitans, and the people of Genoa, which latter city was the principal emporium of the rich commodities of the East, was not the less incommoded by the piratical vessels of the African corsairs.

This expedition of the Duke of Bourbon, more splendid than useful, stimulated the effervescent disposition of Charles, who entertained a variety of wild and romantic projects: at one time, he would pass into Africa to chastise the corsairs; at another, he would lead an army against Bajazet, Emperor of the Turks; again, he would proceed into Italy, and compel the Romans to acknowledge the sovereignty of Clement. But the evident inequality of his mind had been for some time perceived; and al-

A. D.
1390.

A. D. 1390. ready were parties forming against the government, which his ministers, intoxicated with present power, were incapable of discerning. Clifton, however boundless the ascendancy that he had acquired over the mind of his Sovereign, had been unable to obtain the restitution of his fortresses, that had been seized by the Duke of Brittany, and which that Prince had engaged to restore. The parties of Montfort and the Constable filled the province with intestine divisions. By the whole conduct of the Duke it was apparent, that he meant not to fulfil his engagements; and, supported and encouraged by the uncles of the King, he defied the authority of the Gallic Monarch. The disgrace of Peter de Craön, a profligate favourite of the Court, a trifling event in itself, produced the first sparks of that unrestrained violence that distinguished the contending factions during the subsequent reign of this ill-fated Prince.

Craön, imputing his dismissal to the intrigues of the Constable, retired to the Court of the Duke of Brittany, where his wrath exciting him to action, he collected a desperate band of his adherents, and, secretly repairing to Paris, assassinated his suspected enemy, and left him, as he supposed, the senseless victim of his rage. The blow, however, proved not mortal: Clifton recovered, to make known the assassin; and the King entered warmly into his resentments. The immense riches of Craön were seized, and divided among the favourites of the Court;

Court; his houses, distributed in various parts of the kingdom, were razed to the ground; his possessions in France were confiscated to the crown; and, upon the refusal of the Duke of Brittany to deliver him up to justice; the Gallic Monarch commenced vigorous preparations to compel him by force of arms.

A.D.
1390.

With evident reluctance the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy prepared to accompany their Sovereign: the whole kingdom murmured at a war that had no other object, but the gratification of the resentment of a rapacious favourite. The departure of the troops commenced; when an event, the most awful, as the most fatal for France, in its consequences, finally put an end to the intended project. The King had recently recovered from a dangerous malady at Amiens, wherein he had, as in other instances before, given strong symptoms of an alarming derangement of intellects. The day he began his march, he had been more languid, silent, and drowsy, than usual. In entering the forest of Mans, at some distance from his troops, and attended by a few followers—a figure, clothed in white, with bare head and naked feet, suddenly starting from the trees, seized the bridle of his horse, and in a menacing tone cried out, “King! “proceed not; return; thou art betrayed!” and as precipitately retreated. Charles gave no other signs of the impression made by this strange circumstance, than by an alteration in his countenance;

1392,]
Aug. 5.

A. D.

1592.



and a start of horror. Continuing his route,—in quitting the wood, he advanced to a sandy plain, upon which the sun, in its meridian height, rendered the heat insupportable. His page, who carried his lance, let it fall upon the helmet borne by another: aroused by the tinkling noise, he grasped his sword, and assailed his followers. Froissard, an exact and respectable historian, who was at Paris at this period, affirms, in contradiction to the contemporary writers, that Charles slew not any person upon this occasion. Having been, with some difficulty, disarmed, and exhausted by his efforts, he sunk into a state of torpid insensibility; and, tied down in a cart, was re-conveyed to the place from whence he had commenced his departure.

A general consternation pervaded the kingdom upon the sudden frenzy of the Monarch. If a deprivation of reason, that divine attribute that distinguishes men from the brute creation, affect us so much in a private individual, who has only his domestic attachments, and confined range of society, to lament his affliction, and from whose infirmity no public misfortune can ensue;—what must be the despondency of a nation, to see a Sovereign, from whose man amiable qualities favourable auguries were drawn,—whose life appeared to be of importance to the happiness and existence of the state—thus beloved, and thus afflicted! His wretched subjects, who had recently entertained the most flattering prognostications of his good intentions,

tions, which, although not hitherto justified by any advantages procured by his administration, yet suffered their hopes to be kept alive by the expectation, that, as he advanced in years, his profuse prodigality, and the apparent errors of his government, might be moderated, now saw with grief and despair, the authority again return into the hands of the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy. Clifton, conscious of the enmity of those Princes, hastily withdrew into Brittany, where he was enabled, by his wealth, power, and alliances, to bid defiance to the hostile attempts of Montfort; and was at length so fortunate, as to conciliate the esteem of his hitherto irreconcilable enemy, and to convert him into a warm and steadfast friend: the Duke, proving the high opinion he entertained of his integrity, by entrusting, upon his demise, his children to his care. The colleagues of the Constable, who were not so happy as to find a foreign asylum, were compelled, by large pecuniary contributions, to avert their impending danger; and the Duke of Orleans, upon the pretext of his inexperienced youth, was excluded from any participation in the government.

A D.
1392.

Meanwhile, the health of the unfortunate Monarch began to be re-established, and his understanding returned by slow degrees. As it was forbidden that his mind should be engaged by any intensity of application, the most frivolous amusements were introduced; and the care of supplying new
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1393.

A. D.
1393.

diversions became the most serious occupation of the Court. The inclination of the Queen for luxury, magnificence, and gallantry, spread its baneful effects throughout the kingdom; and, instead of diminishing by public misfortunes,—as it increased, made continually new progress; and the most corrupt, as licentious establishments evinced the dissolute manners of the agents.

At one of the entertainments given by Isabel, the King, with five of the young nobility, linked together, repaired to the scene of festivity, disguised as satyrs; their habits, made to sit closely to the shape, had been formed of cloth, covered with rosin, which, when warm, had been strewed with tow to give them the appearance of naked savages. The Duke of Orleans, not aware of the inflammable materials of which their dresses had been composed, with a lighted torch drew near to inspect the fantastic group; the flame caught one of the masks; and, quickly communicating to the rest, in an instant converted the scene of mirth and gaiety into one of terror and distress. The Duchess of Berry, having discovered the person of the King; with admirable presence of mind wrapped her robe close around him; another, having disentangled himself, saved his life by jumping into a cistern of water; while the other unfortunate victims, struggling in vain to extricate themselves, perished in the most agonizing torments.

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This strange event had, however, no immediate effect upon the King. In the commencement of the ensuing year, another attempt was made to procure a peace with England. The Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester met the uncles of the French Monarch at Lelinghen: the only effects produced by this interview, were the prolongation of the truce, with the restoration of Cherbourg, to the young King of Navarre, son of Charles the Wicked, who had perished some years since, by an accident as extraordinary as it had been dreadful. To repair the heat of a decayed constitution, his physicians had enveloped him in a bandage steeped in brandy, which, having been carelessly or purposely set on fire by an attendant, was the cause of his death.

A. D.
1393.

During the above negotiation, the Gallic Monarch relapsed into a paroxysm of the malady he had before experienced. In the prime of life, a regular and temperate regimen might possibly have surmounted his infirmity; but instead of applying to the most rational means for his restoration, recourse was had to magicians, fasts, and processions; while in the intervals of his disease, under the pretext of affording him amusement, he was plunged into new excesses that rendered his disorder incurable; and which, fixing in periodical returns, continued, with short intervals of reason, to accompany him to the end of his life.

A. D. 1393—9. While the brother of Charles was excluded from the least shadow of authority, his Duchefs, young, beautiful, and accomplished, acquired an unrivalled ascendancy over the King; who, when under the influence of his complaint, knew not any person, nor would be governed by any excepting herself. The Duchefs of Burgundy, jealous of her power, insinuated that the unhappy Monarch and his Queen were bewitched by the machinations of Valentina and her consort; an opinion she found it not difficult to inculcate, in an age, when the effects of magic were so universally credited; and, infusing a portion of her resentments into the mind of her husband, promoted that spirit of discord, that he was already too prone to encourage.

In the intervals of his complaint, Charles was carried about, like a pageant, to ceremonies of state. He met the King of England between Ardres and Calais, where Richard, in the hope of strengthening himself by an alliance with France, against the enterprize of his uncles, and the turbulence of his Barons, engaged in a matrimonial union with Isabel, the daughter of the French Monarch; a princess in her infancy, who had been before contracted to a son of the Duke of Brittany: and, as it was found difficult to adjust their mutual pretensions, the negociators agreed to establish a truce for five and twenty years. Some time after this event, Charles was conducted to Rheims, to receive

receive a visit from the Emperor, Winceſlaus, a A. D. 1393—9.
 deſpicable Prince, whom his ſubjects, weary of his exceſſes, were conſtrained to depoſe. The purpoſe of this interview ſeems to have been, to concert the means to terminate the ſchiſm that exiſted in the church. About this period, the Genoefe, long the prey of intestine diviſions, and alarmed at the encreaſing power of Galeazzo Viſconti, Duke of Milan,—to procure the protection of France, inveſted its Monarch with the ſovereignty of their city.


Although at peace with the neighbouring potentates, it prevented not the French from taking an active part in the military enterpriſes of the times. John, Count of Nevers, the ſon of the Duke of Burgundy, accompanied by the Conſtable, Philip of Artois, the Lord of Concy, the Admiral de Vienne, the Maſhal Boncicaut, with ſome of the firſt Nobility of the kingdom, and a conſiderable armament, repaired to the ſtandard of Sigifmond, King of Hungary, then at war with Bajazet, Emperor of the Turks. The imprudence of the Gallic troops loſt to the Hungarian Monarch the famous battle of Nicopolis, more fatal to his allies than to himſelf. Having, by their impetuous valour, detached themſelves from the main body of the army, the French diviſion was ſurrounded, and all the combatants either ſlain or taken priſoners: the latter were maſſacred, after the engagement, by the command of the ferocious conqueror,

A. D. 1393—9. conqueror, with the reserve of the Count of Nevers, Boncicaut, and a few other Lords, who were redeemed at a prodigious ransom. Upon their return into France, a small force was sent to the assistance of the Greek Emperor, Manuel : but the successes of a more redoubtable Prince, the great Tamerlane, drew the attention of Bajazet into another quarter ; and, for a while, retarded the fate of the Imperial throne of the Cæsars.

The deposition, and the fatal catastrophe of Richard, King of England, having placed his crown upon the head of the Duke of Lancaster, Henry the Fourth ; the French government flattered themselves that they might profit by the fluctuating authority of the usurper, to re-annex to France the English dominions in Aquitaine. An army, under the command of the Duke of Bourbon, was dispatched into Guienne : but the Earl of Worcester, repairing with some troops to the seat of enterprise, the attempt was defeated ; and Charles, satisfied with having recovered his daughter Isabel from the hands of his enemies, and whom he afterwards bestowed upon the son of the Duke of Orleans, confirmed the truce that had before subsisted.

1399, to 1404. The superiority of the Duke of Burgundy became every day more insupportable to the brother of the French Monarch, whose frequent relapses were the cause of incredible disorders. The Princes all equally grasping at power—Charles, sometimes seceding from, at others resuming his fluctuating authority,

authority, prevented any effectual attempt to establish a regular mode of government. The Duke of Orleans, sustained by the influence which the amiable qualities of his consort had obtained over the King, demanded to participate in the administration. His popularity prevented his opponent from a longer counteraction of his wishes : but the public estimation he enjoyed was soon lost. Uniting to a person, uncommonly attractive, great natural endowments, which had been cultivated by the care of the Duke of Bourbon, he is represented as one of the most accomplished Princes of the age. But the qualities bestowed upon him by nature were miserably perverted as he advanced to maturity. Concentrating the most opposite qualities, he was, at the same time, ambitious and indolent, avaricious and prodigal : with manners the most corrupt, he attempted to intermingle pleasures with serious concerns, the cares of government with gallantry, and devotion with voluptuousness. As he could not equal his rival in extent of dominion, he endeavoured to oppose him in amassing, by means however unjustifiable, an immensity of wealth. Having obtained the direction of the finances, with an authority never before enjoyed by his predecessors in office, he imposed taxes at his pleasure, levied with rigour, and without deigning to give any account of the expenditure of the public money ; assuming the fastidious state of a Sovereign : and, supported by the

A. D.
1399, to
1404.


A.D.
1399, to
1404.

Queen, with whom he had formed connexions of the most criminal nature, he was environed by a gay and a splendid Court, while the wretched victim of insanity, as were his children, was oftentimes suffered to want the common necessaries of life : and in the violent paroxysms of his disorder, so shamefully was he neglected, as to be reduced to situations the most humiliating, as the most revolting to human nature.

During a temporary absence of the Duke of Burgundy, the brother of Charles prevailed upon his Sovereign, who enjoyed a short interval of reason, to create him Lieutenant-General, and Governor of the realm. The hasty return of his rival, in consequence of that measure, and their violent struggle for the ascendancy in the administration, threatened an immediate rupture,—when the King, with a firmness he had not been accustomed to exert, deprived both pretenders of a participation in the government ; and by a solemn and public act vested the royal authority in the hands of the Queen and a Council. This measure served but to fan the flame of discord ; and new taxes, with a famine, and a pestilential disorder, augmented the miseries of the kingdom,—when the death of the Duke of Burgundy seemed for a while to assure the uncontrouled direction of the State to his ambitious opponent. But in John, surnamed the Fearless, the son and successor of that Prince, arose a rival more formidable than the one of whom he had been
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been deprived. With the magnificence and splendor of character which distinguished his father, he possessed with an equal portion of ambition a more enterprising turn of mind, and united to those qualities a disposition sanguinary in its resentments, and which knew how to conceal, under the mask of dissimulation, the most perfidious attempts.

A. D.
1399, to
1404.

The power obtained by the Queen and the Duke of Orleans, in consequence of this recent event, had it been moderated by prudence, might have secured them the authority to which they aspired; but their exactions, and their union, apparently cemented by personal and political motives, excited so universal a detestation, that the young Duke of Burgundy soon found the opportunity of attaining the same ascendancy in the government as his father had before enjoyed; and, by affecting to oppose the rapacity of the obnoxious faction, and assuming upon every occasion an appearance of being the protector of the people, soon acquired a decided popularity.

To allay the animosities that daily threatened to proceed to avowed hostilities; the contending Princes were prevailed upon, to withdraw awhile from the court; and, notwithstanding the subsisting treaty, to turn their arms against the King of England, whom they proposed, severally, to attack in Guienne and in Picardy. The ill success of both these enterprises, in which either attributed the failure

1407—10

A. D. 1407—10 failure of his plans to the machinations of the other, yet more inflamed their mutual disgusts. At length, through the mediation of their common friends, they consented to bury in oblivion all past differences, and to enter into a solemn league of forgiveness and perpetual amity: they swore on the altar; partook, at the same time, of the sacrament, and exchanged every pledge that could be deemed sacred by man. But in the Duke of Burgundy, these awful preparations were the mask by which he concealed a treachery, the most deliberate, as the most detestable!

On the third night from this solemn act of reconciliation, the Duke of Orleans, in leaving the Hotel of Saint Paul, where the Queen resided, upon a pretended and hasty summons from the King, and without his accustomed guard, was assassinated by a band of hired ruffians, who, having performed the task imposed upon them, took refuge in the palace of his opponent. The instigations to this execrable deed have been attributed more to personal, than to political motives; the brother of Charles, having as it is pretended, insulted his antagonist by publicly boasting of the favours of his consort, the Duchess of Burgundy. The author, however, of this atrocious act was for some days unknown: the Duke, affecting the utmost concern at the event, assisted at his funeral, and expressed the most furious indignation against his murderers: but, when, it was discovered that he

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was, himself, the cause of this outrage, he hastily withdrew into his own dominions, and returned with a force sufficient to protect him in an open avowal and justification of the deed. He obliged his Sovereign to grant him an audience ; demanded that his cause should be brought before the Parliament : and that supreme tribunal of justice, awed by his power, heard his advocate plead in defence of the assassination, without daring to pronounce any sentence of condemnation against a doctrine repugnant to every social, and to every moral tie.

All confidence and security thus destroyed, the fatal effects were soon felt in their consequences. Charles, the young Duke of Orleans, with his brothers Philip and John, Counts of Vertus and Angoulême, uniting with the Queen and the other Princes of the Blood, attempted to oppose the daring ambition of this powerful adversary ; but master of the person of the Monarch, as of the affections of the Parisians, whom he had secured to his interest, by a restoration of their privileges and other popular acts, he compelled the unhappy phantom of royalty, not only to sanction whatever he proposed, but to give a public testimony of his approbation of the assassination of his brother ! Upon his departure from the capital, to the assistance of John of Bavaria, his brother-in-law, against the people of Liege, who opposed the authority of that Prince, the Queen returned with
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A. D.
1407—10
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A. D. 1407—10 the Dauphin to Paris, reversed the decrees that had been recently passed, and commenced a solemn process against the assassin.

Their opponent, in a sanguinary engagement, having defeated, on the plains of Tongres, the Liegeois, returned with an army, flushed with victory, to support his interests at Court; and Isabel, who ventured not to confide in the loyalty of the Parisians, retired, upon his approach, with the King to Tours. Thus the wretched Monarch, seized by either one faction or the other, alternately transferred to each the semblance of a legal authority! To recover the person of Charles, an object of importance to the Duke of Burgundy, he was induced to negotiate with his enemies; and, upon some slight concessions on his part, a temporary reconciliation took place. Unable to revenge the death of her consort, the Duchess of Orleans died of grief and disappointment; and his assassin having withdrawn from the Queen,—her adherent, the Duke of Berry, with other Princes of the blood, ventured, on the pretext of reforming the treasury, to arrest the Lord of Montague, the obnoxious favourite of Isabel, who had succeeded the brother of Charles, in the direction of the finances. The rack forced him to become the evidence against himself; and he was publicly beheaded, but not before he had recanted what the torture had compelled him to confess. His memory was afterwards vindicated by a convent he had founded,

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who sold their plate to defray the expences of a judicial process ; a circumstance deserving of record, although the object of their gratitude, who lived in unexampled splendour, while his Sovereign wanted the common comforts of life, appears to have been unworthy of their zeal. A portion of his prodigious wealth having been appropriated to Lewis of Bavaria, the brother of the Queen, she was induced to forego her resentments, at the fate of her minister ; and such, however lamentable to expose them, were at that time the corrupt maxims of the Court !

A. D.  
1407—10

These fatal divisions, which prevented the kingdom from interfering in foreign concerns, lost her the influence she had obtained in Italy. The Genoese, instigated by the Marquis of Montferret, as by their natural inconstancy, revolted from the sovereignty of Charles ; and massacred those whom they had so unanimously chosen to be their protectors.

The French Monarch, during a temporary state of convalescence, having entrusted to the Duke of Burgundy, the education of the Dauphin, by this measure considerably strengthened the party of that Prince. The Duke of Berry, who had not for some years interfered in the administration, but as a mediator, upon this event publicly opposed his authority. Uniting himself with the young Duke of Orleans, and supported by a general confederacy of the Princes, he commenced open hos-

A. D. <sup>1410—15</sup> tilities:—the most dreadful devastations were begun in the provinces, by the troops raised for the support of either faction; and the allies advancing, and encamping in the vicinity of the capital, every species of violence, announced to the inhabitants of the suburbs the proximity of a licentious soldiery. A decisive action appeared inevitable,—when the unhappy Monarch, who possessed at the time a sufficient portion of reason to judge of the dreadful effects of this unnatural warfare, insisted that the Duke of Burgundy should attend to the offers of accommodation that were proposed by the adverse party. He reluctantly consented to negotiate; and the treaty of Bicêtre established a temporary calm.

Conforming to the articles of the peace, the Princes disbanded their troops, and consented to withdraw from Paris; but although removed from a personal interference, their politics still continued to agitate the Court. The Count of Saint Pol, decidedly in the interests of the Duke of Burgundy, obtained the government of the capital; and the miseries of a civil war were again renewed. The nation, divided by the two parties, were distinguished either by scarfs of red or white, and by the appellations of Burgundians, and Armagnacs; the latter faction, so styled from the Count of that name, whose daughter the Duke of Orleans had recently espoused. The adherents of the former Prince having the possession of the person of the Monarch,

Monarch, proscribed the partizans of their opponents; and imitating the sanguinary violence of a Sylla, or a Marius,—Paris, as had been Rome, became the scene of perpetual warfare and bloodshed. A fraternity of butchers, enlisted by Saint Pol, committed the most dreadful outrages; and gratified their personal animosities by sacrificing to the sword, under the obnoxious name of Armagnac, all who were the objects of their private resentments. The peasantry, who had been armed, turned their weapons against their employers; and similar to the preceding insurrections of the Jacqueserie, and Maillotins, pursued their indiscriminate slaughter, until checked by a severe and extended courage. The King, with the Dauphin and his Court, detained in a sort of captivity, were left to the mercy of the licentious rabble: conducted by them to the Parliament, they were compelled to give the royal assent to any edicts they thought proper to require, and to suffer their Ministers, or their attendants, to be massacred, or imprisoned before their sight.

Lewis, the Dauphin, daily exposed to the gross insults of a disorderly populace, applied to the personal influence of his father-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, to allay these commotions. His presence in the capital rather increased, than suppressed the insolence of his adherents. Des Effards, to whom the son of Charles had given the command of the Bastille, that, to overawe the city, had been



A. D. 1410—15 begun in the last reign, was besieged by the rabble, and obliged to surrender. The director of the finances, since the execution of Montague, and once the favourite of the Burgundian Prince, he was now accused of the embezzlement of the public money, and shared the fate of his predecessor in office. Encouraged by the Dauphin to advance to his assistance, the Dukes of Orleans and Brittany obtained possession of the capital; released the Duke of Berry, with Lewis of Bavaria and the Count of Bar, who had been imprisoned by the Parisians; and, upon the retreat of their opponent from the city, retaliated upon his adherents the barbarities that had been inflicted upon the Armagnacs. By this event, the Queen recovered her ascendancy; a vigorous and successful war commenced against the Duke of Burgundy; his Flemish subjects refused to support him; many places of importance were wrested from him; when his enemies, fearing that, should he be driven to extremities, he might be induced to form a dangerous alliance with the English Monarch, with whom he had already begun to negotiate, concluded the treaty of Arras, by which he engaged to renounce his connexions with that kingdom.

1415. These scenes of anarchy and confusion had continued, without any respite, for some years; when an evil was superadded to the internal calamities of the kingdom, which, while it threatened the total abolition of the monarchy, for a time suspended



the private animosities of the rival factions. The hostile dispositions of France and England had been restrained from appearing in open rupture, by the similar commotions that had afflicted either nation. Henry the Fourth, prevented, by secret conspiracies and by open rebellions, in an unpopular reign of thirteen years, from attempting any foreign enterprise, had alternately assisted, with troops, the contending factions, by whose animosities France had been distracted. Impelled by the vigour of youth and the ardour of ambition, his son and successor of the same name, having judiciously as successfully endeavoured to bury in oblivion the party distinctions that had disturbed the administration of his father, determined to take advantage of the divided state of the adverse kingdom, by an attempt to profit from her misfortunes.

A.D.  
1415.

Reviving the ill-founded claim of his ancestors to the crown of France, Henry — himself the usurper of the rights of another — amused the Court of Charles by fruitless negotiations, until his plans had been ripe for execution; and, before they had begun their preparations to avert his hostile attempts, their enterprising opponent had already landed on the coast of Normandy, with an army composed of thirty thousand men, and had commenced his operations with the siege of Harfleur. The garrison, weak and unprepared, and the fortifications in no state of defence, the inhabitants yet gallantly

A. D.

1415.



defended themselves from this unexpected attack : but, vigorously as incessantly battered by the heavy artillery of the enemy, and having, ineffectually, demanded support from the government, they were obliged to capitulate : and the King of England, having constrained the inhabitants to abandon the city, peopled it anew with his English subjects.

Alarmed at the celerity of his motions, the Gallic Ministers, compelled to act upon the defensive, assembled a numerous army in Normandy, under the command of D'Albert, the Constable. The reduced state of the English troops, who were daily diminishing by disease, and the impolitic measure of their Sovereign, who had dismissed his transports soon after his disembarkation, obliged him to offer the sacrifice of his new acquisition for a safe retreat to Calais. Upon the rejection of his terms, Henry was necessitated to depend upon his valour and conduct, to extricate himself from his perilous situation. He commenced his march; overcame every impediment thrown in his way to retard his progress; arrived at the Somme, in spite of the numerous squadrons of his opponents; and having found the ford of Blanquetegue impassable, where Edward the Third had, before him, eluded the pursuit of Valois, he surprised a passage near St. Quintin, and reached in safety the opposite banks of the stream. Still exposed to great and imminent danger, from the various detachments of  
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the French that were constantly accumulating around him, he cautiously advanced in his destined route; when, upon passing the small river of Ter-nois, near Blagni, he found his retreat completely intercepted, by perceiving the whole of the Gallic forces prepared to receive him upon the plains of Azincour.

A. D.

1415.

The French troops, which were computed to be, Oct. 25. by the most moderate historians, fourfold those of the enemy, who were, moreover, weakened by disease, and in want of every necessary subsistence, were injudiciously drawn up in a contracted space, confined between a wood and a small stream, and were hence incapable of profiting from the incredible disproportion of numbers. In a similar situation to that in which Edward found himself at Creci, and his son the Black Prince at Poitiers; the English Monarch added a wreath of laurels to those which had been won by his predecessors, upon those memorable occasions. The Gallic army was utterly defeated, and without procuring one solid advantage to the victors: no battle was ever more fatal to France. Among the slain, which amounted to ten thousand men, were few of inferior note:—the Dukes of Alençon, Brabant, and Bar; the Counts of Nevers, Marle, and Vaudemont, and Lewis of Bourbon, all Princes of the royal line! with the Constable, the Admiral, and a melancholy list of nobles of the first rank, were the victims to that unfortunate day.

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A. D.

1415.

This victory, in which the loss of the conqueror was but trivial, would have crowned Henry with unfading glory, had it not been sullied by a sanguinary act of stern and vindictive cruelty, that necessity could not palliate, nor the laws of war excuse. After all appearance of opposition had ceased, a contemptible band of fugitives, who, to profit by the tumult of the action, had fallen upon the English baggage, and had commenced a slaughter of the unarmed followers of the camp—the English Monarch, whose prisoners had already become nearly as numerous as his army, alarmed at this attack of his rear, issued a general order for the massacre of those who had surrendered: nor was this command recalled, until numbers had fallen victims to his hasty mandate. The captives, even after this recent slaughter, were computed at sixteen thousand persons; among whom were, with the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, many distinguished and illustrious names.

This disastrous event, so similar in the most considerable circumstances to those of Creci and Poitiers, in which the French, with every advantage on their side, choosing the most improper situations, without discipline or concord, evincing the same impetuosity, the same confusion, and vain confidence, might yet have admitted of some alleviation. A large force, that had been joined, a few days after the engagement, by the Duke of Brittany, was still in the field: the fugitives might have



have been assembled ; and Henry might have had to lament his temerity : but no attempt was made, by a divided people, to recover their loss ; and the English Monarch, who seems to have forgotten the motive that impelled him to the invasion of the kingdom, pursued his march to Calais ; embarked, with his illustrious captives, and an immense booty, for his own dominions ; and consented soon after to a short cessation of hostilities.

A. D.

1415.

The consternation the news of this melancholy defeat occasioned, was considerably enhanced by a report of the approach of the Duke of Burgundy, with a potent army, to the capital. Strangely inconsistent in his conduct, this Prince had, before the departure of the English Monarch from Calais, sent him a defiance, in resentment of the death of his brothers, the Duke of Brabant, and the Count of Nevers, who had fallen upon the plains of Azincour ; while, at the same time, it was suspected, a surmise confirmed by subsequent events, that he had entered into a secret alliance, to support the pretensions of Henry to the crown of France ! To oppose this formidable domestic enemy, the absolute direction of the administration, with the sword of Constable, was entrusted, by the Queen, to the Count of Armagnac, a powerful, brave, and experienced officer ; but whose inflexible and vindictive nature rendered useless, qualities which might have enabled him to have saved his country. The irreconcilable enemy of the Duke of Burgundy,  
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A. D. 1415. he daily sacrificed to his resentment the partisans of his opponent, who, in the expectation that by some turn, favourable to his views, he might find an admittance into Paris, had continued, in reluctant inactivity, at Lagni; but, despairing of success, retired into Flanders, and disbanded his army.

Dec. In the mean time, Lewis, the Dauphin, a weak, inconstant, and debauched Prince, who gave no presages of abilities that could have been useful to a desponding nation, died in the nineteenth year of his age. His death, attributed to poison, administered by the emissaries of his father-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, but, with more probability, imputed to his irregularities, was in a few months followed by that of John, his brother, and successor to his title; whose union with the daughter, and residence at the Court of the Count of Hainault, had revived the drooping hopes of the Duke of Burgundy. The demise of these Princes left open the succession of the throne to Charles, the youngest son of the Gallic Monarch, at that time in his fifteenth year; who, devoted to the interests of the Duke of Orleans, had been educated in the utmost detestation of the opposing faction.

1416-18. The Count of Armagnac, in possession of the person of the Monarch, and the affections of his son, exercised an authority more despotic than had been heretofore enjoyed by any sovereign, or minister of France. Not only detested by the Parisians,

Parisians; the severity of his administration detached from his interests his best friends, when a misunderstanding between the Queen and himself renewed the declining spirits of the Burgundians. Isabel, who had been for some time divested, by the ambitious Minister, of every semblance of authority, had yet found the means to amass immense wealth. To obtain the possession of this treasure, the Constable infused into the weak mind of the King, a suspicion of the fidelity of his consort; a surmise too well justified, by the unguarded licentiousness of her conduct. Authorised by the resentment of his Sovereign, he arrested her favourite Minister and supposed gallant Louis, Bois de Bourbon, from whom the torture having extorted a confession of her irregularities, he was sewed in a sack, and plunged into the Seine. The riches, that had been distributed, and deposited in various churches and monasteries, were seized; and the Queen exiled to Tours, and, with a contracted establishment, was surrounded by a close and vigilant guard.

These multiplied insults, the vindictive spirit of Isabel never forgave; and, extending her resentments to her son, for ever after continued his most relentless enemy. Forgetting her former animosities, for the injuries she had sustained from the Duke of Burgundy, she entered into a strict alliance with that Prince: in concert with her wishes, and with a formidable army, rendered every day more powerful

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1416-18  
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A. D. 1416—18 { erful by the impolitic severity of the Count of Armagnac, her former opponent entered France. Having published a general abolition of all subsidies, gabelles, and imposts, a lure that could not fail to produce the advantages that he expected; the towns in Ponthieu, Picardy, Vermandois, and Beauvoisis, with few exceptions, voluntarily opened their gates. Seduced by his promises, Rheims, Chalons, Troyes, Auxerre, followed their example; and Isabel, released from her confinement, assumed the regency of the kingdom, dissolved the Parliament of Paris, established one at Troyes, substituted new officers of the crown, and appeared determined to set no bounds to her resentment.

In the height of these disorders, the King of England, assured of the concurrence of the Duke of Burgundy, with a small force again landed at Harfleurs, without the semblance of any opposition, excepting at Caën, the inhabitants of which town were made to feel the rigorous effects of his resentment. He rapidly reduced to his obedience, the whole country, comprised in the district of Lower Normandy, and invested Rouen; while the Duke of Burgundy, in a march equally successful, advanced to the capital. The miseries of a foreign and domestic war penetrated to every part of the unhappy kingdom. Independently of the calamities inseparable from open warfare, the realm was a prey to banditti of every description, who thought themselves equally entitled with the disciplined



ciplined assassins, to share the spoils. Assembled in companies, secured in the gloomy recesses of the forests, they plundered and massacred with indiscriminate barbarity. The functionaries of the church forsook the altar; the ministers of peace became soldiers, robbers, incendiaries, and executioners. Worthy of the yoke they were preparing to receive from a foreign realm, the nation, divided into Royalists, Dauphinists, Burgundians, and Armagnacs, outrageous in their passions and revenge, confounded all notions of human justice; and seemed only desirous to draw down the vengeance of Heaven, by the extension as the magnitude of their crimes.

The capital, ever prone to give the pernicious example, arose in open insurrection. The adherents of the Duke of Burgundy admitted into the city by night Lisle Adam, an officer of that Prince, with eight hundred men. Having secured the person of the King, the Constable, with his partizans, were imprisoned; while the Dauphin, indebted to the fidelity of Tannequi du Châtel, was conveyed in safety to Melun. Upon the appearance of daylight, the tumults increased; the red cross of Saint Andrew, the distinctive mark of the victorious faction, appeared more than ever alarming, empurpled with kindred and with civic blood. Du Châtel, in an ineffectual attempt to recover from the adverse party, the wretched Monarch, who had been constrained, notwithstanding his infirmity

A. D.

1416-18

A. D.

1418.

infirmity, to mount a horse, and be shown to the populace,—penetrated into the city, and retired with the loss of four hundred men. On the twelfth of June; a day that should be obliterated from the memory of man, did it not serve to show the deformity of vice, and teach the reflective mind, by comparing its opposite, to become enamoured of virtue; the disorders that had been moderated, were again commenced. A rumour of the approach of the Dauphin with an armed force, was the ready pretext to sacrifice the numerous victims that had been thrown into the dismal repositories of human misery. The infuriated populace, rushed to the dungeons, assassinated the guards, compelled the miserable inhabitants of the prisons to come forth; Armagnacs, Burgundians, criminals, debtors, all, one by one, without discrimination of condition, age, misery, or sex, were made to satiate the inhumanity of their remorseless executioners. The immured victims in the castle of Châtelet made a vigorous defence, and gave the unexampled sight of prisoners sustaining a siege; at length, obliged to yield to the exertions of a determined multitude, their resistance was the plea to the infliction of the most refined barbarity.

The Constable, the Chancellor, and the Bishop of Constance, attached to a cord, were dragged, for three successive days, through the streets of Paris; devoted to the senseless taunts, and gross insults  
of

of a frantic rabble. The name of man is insulted, by the detailed recital, made by the French historians, of the wanton tortures, and unnatural atrocities, of those uncompunctious tigers: the more to be execrated, when the nobility of the first rank in the kingdom, at the head of a disciplined body of troops, were not only the spectators, but the instigators of these tragical executions; and were enriched, at the expence of a ruined community! Three thousand five hundred persons were computed to have lost their lives, in the three days this slaughter continued; and so soon as the Queen, with her new ally, were informed that they had not any thing to fear from a subdued faction, they left Tours, and entered the capital, yet streaming with blood, in all the splendour of conquest! A repetition of the like cruelties recommenced under their sanction; when the Duke of Burgundy, alarmed at the ungovernable excesses of the furious multitude—to provide for his personal safety, commanded the execution of the principal leaders of the populace; and having, upon the pretext of undertaking the sieges of Montchery and Marcouffy, dismissed from the city six thousand of the most active and daring agents of the preceding tumults; pursued by the detachments of the Dauphin, and refused a re-entrance into the town, they became the victims of his duplicity. But Paris, delivered by his perfidy from a dangerous internal enemy, enjoyed no respite from misery. An epidemical disorder, occasioned

A. D.

1418.

A. D. 1418. { caused by the late mortality, and the unusual heats that prevailed, was so inveterate, that one hundred thousand persons were computed to have fallen a prey to its violence.

1419. Rejecting the ambiguous promises of the Queen and the Duke of Burgundy, the Dauphin, whose genius and abilities gave happy presages of better times, assembled his adherents at Bourges. Assuming the title of Regent and Lieutenant-General of the realm, he appointed a Chancellor, and established at Poitiers, with his Court, a Parliament of those officers of judicature who had escaped the massacre at Paris; and attempted, by negotiation, to arrest the progress of the English arms. The King of England, who had been for some time detained by the gallant resistance of Rouen, having become master of the city, advanced with rapid success to the vicinity of the capital. Solicited by either party, Henry, negotiating with both, yet pursued the progress of his conquests. The proposals for peace were perpetually varying: the English Monarch consented to an interview with the Court between Pontoise and Mantes; the terms of the treaty were nearly adjusted; when the Dauphin, and the Duke of Burgundy, having had a conference at Poilly le Fort, mutually agreed to forego all private animosities; exchanged the most sacred promises of an eternal friendship; and engaged to unite in an effort to expel the common enemy.

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This union, which threatened to annihilate the ambitious pretensions of the King of England, proved, in the event, the most favourable to his views. The Confederate Princes had projected, in the ensuing month, another interview, to concert on the most probable means to render their intentions effectual. Equally suspicious of the good faith of each other, they readily consented to every contrivance that could be proposed for their mutual security. But precautions are useless when laws are unobserved, and all principles of honour are utterly abandoned. They met upon the bridge at Montereau, between the castle and the town; the Duke advanced, and bent his knee in obeisance to the son of Charles. In that posture he was attacked by Tannegin du Chastel, a warm partisan of the late Duke of Orleans, and by the retinue of the Prince; and the assassination of the brother of the King, was avenged by a murder, more unjustifiable, as it was accompanied by a violation of the public faith. The youth and general character of the Dauphin, renders it doubtful whether he had been made acquainted with the secret of the conspiracy; and the various manners in which the fact is related, leave it uncertain at this day whether he were present: but the odium of the deed was fatal to his cause.

Paris, devoted to his opponent, united with the Court and the Ministers, to revenge his death. Isabel, persevering in her animosity against her

A. D. 1419. son, and more than ever exasperated by the loss of her favoured adherent; joined by Philip, the young Duke of Burgundy, resolved to persecute him to the last extremity. Every consideration of national honour and family interest was forgotten: they entered into a treaty with the King of England at Arras; and Henry, soon after repairing to Troyes, they confirmed the ignominious terms of pacification.

1420.  
May 21

It was stipulated that the unhappy semblance of majesty should, during the residue of his wretched life, be suffered to possess the title and external appendages of royalty: that Henry should, by his union with Catharine, the youngest daughter of Charles, be declared and acknowledged his heir, and be entrusted with the sole administration of the State: that France and England, from henceforward, should be for ever united, and descend to the issue of that marriage: and, that the English Monarch should join the Duke of Burgundy, in a vigorous attempt, to subdue the adherents of the Dauphin. Such was the famous, as disgraceful pacification of Troyes, which, as not any thing could dictate, but the most implacable desire of vengeance, so, not any thing but the sword could carry into execution. The King of England entered Paris in triumph; convoked a General Assembly of the States, and obtained a ratification of the recent treaty. The Parliament, to their eternal disgrace, having suffered the heir of the Monarchy

Monarchy to be formally persecuted before their tribunal, for the assassination of the Duke of Burgundy, condemned him to a perpetual exile; and declared him unworthy, and, for ever, excluded from the succession to the crown!

A.D.

1420.

While his enemies were thus actively employed in bestowing upon a stranger his unalienable rights; the undaunted Prince, joined by all those who had at heart the true interests of the kingdom, was not backward in opposing the unjust confederacy, and in vindicating his legal pretensions. Retiring into the provinces beyond the Loire, that were yet decidedly in his interests, he secured, by the reinforcements of the Duke of Albany, the Regent of Scotland, those places that had not submitted to his opponent. Unable to cope with his antagonist in the field, he endeavoured to baffle his attempts by temporising measures; and, upon the departure of the King of England, to obtain supplies from his English subjects; his ally, the Earl of Buchan, engaged, and obtained a complete victory over the Duke of Clarence, the brother of Henry, at Bouge, in Anjou. Animated to revenge the death of that Prince, who was slain in the engagement,—the victor of Agincour, upon his return, soon repaired the disgrace of his arms, recovered some places that had been recently taken by the Scottish General, captured Meaux, a town of great importance to the security of the Parisians; and pursued his good fortune

A. D. with so rapid a course of success, as threatened a  
 1420. speedy, as inevitable destruction to the hopes of  
 the Dauphin:

1422.  
 Aug. 31. At that critical moment, when at the point of uniting the accumulated forces of both kingdoms, with those of the Duke of Burgundy, to reduce his opponent to the last extremity, Henry, the fortunate and the victorious, attacked, in the flower of his age, by a malady that baffled the skill of his physicians, sunk to an untimely grave. His death, happily for France, and perhaps not the less so for his own country, procured not any immediate advantages to the heir of the monarchy. The interests of the infant son of the English Monarch were carefully watched over by his brother, the Duke of Bedford, to whom devolved the regency of the conquered kingdom; and who, to great military and political abilities, united a moderation, unpossessed by the late Sovereign. He conciliated the public favour; withdrew the Duke of Brittany from his alliance with the Dauphin; and obtained a popularity which Henry had ineffectually endeavoured to acquire.

At length, the most unfortunate of Monarchs, overcome with infirmities, and long the sport of the most extraordinary revolutions, approached his term of human misery. His debilitated frame, unable to withstand the reiterated shocks of a quartan ague, sunk under its oppression; and he expired in a paroxysm of that complaint, at the  
 hotel



A. D.

1422.

hotel de Saint Paul, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and in the forty-third of his reign. Of six sons borne to him by Isabel of Bavaria, Charles, his successor, alone survived him. His daughters were, Isabel, united to Richard the Second, King of England, and, after his death, to the Duke of Orleans; Jane, the consort of the Duke of Brittany; Maria, devoted to the Church; Michelle, married to the Duke of Burgundy; Catharine, Queen to Henry the Fifth; and a natural daughter, Margaret.

Of the reign of this ill-fated Monarch, the remembrance is melancholy, as is the recital painful; and the last hours of his life hold up a striking picture of the futility of earthly exaltation. After thirty years of bodily suffering and of mental deprivation, deserted in his utmost need by domestics as by courtiers, unattended by his Queen, unvisited by his children, in the hands of strangers, who had been elevated upon the ruin of his country—he was destined to sink into the grave, without a friend to receive his sighs, or to pay the last mournful duties in the hour of mortality!

The same wretchedness that marked his life, accompanied him to the tomb. Not one Prince of the Gallic line was seen to follow his last obsequies; and, to defray the expences of his funeral honours, the Parliament, by a singular decree, ordained that his personal effects should be appropriated to that purpose:—a signal instance of disloyalty and neglect;

A.D.  
1412.



neglect; and as painful for reflection to canvass, as for the pen to record! Attended by the Duke of Bedford, his remains were deposited, with ostentatious pomp, in the royal sepulchre of St. Denis; and, at the close of the ceremonial rites, a herald, having exhorted all present to pray for the repose of his soul, cried aloud, "Long live Henry of Lancaster, King of France and of England!"

Amidst the dreadful disorders that prevailed in the kingdom during the period we have recently reviewed, the university of Paris attained a degree of eminence and importance, to which it had been hitherto a stranger. In the multiplied disputes of parties, their opinions, sometimes demanded, were yet more frequently offered; and, in the great Papal schism, so long continued to the scandal of christianity, the professors distinguished themselves by their zealous endeavours to promote the termination of that disgraceful controversy. A measure that became every day more and more necessary; as, weakened by this disunion, the pre-eminence of the Roman church was likewise threatened by innovations in its established doctrines. A sensible decay of ecclesiastical authority had already taken place in England, where the opinions of John Wickliffe, a secular priest, who propagated his doctrines at the close of the reign of Edward the Third, had obtained a prodigious number of profelytes. The tenets of this reformer, who had the honour to be the first person in Europe who ventured

tured to call in question the supremacy of the Holy See, and those principles that had been considered for ages as incontrovertible, were extended upon the Continent by the zeal of John Hufs, professor of divinity in the University of Prague.

A. D.

1422.

To heal the wounds of the church, which suffered from these innovations, as from its unhappy division, various councils were convoked. Gregory the Twelfth, the Italian pontiff, convened one at Aquileia; Benedict the Thirteenth, who had been driven from Avignon, held another in Catalonia, whither he had retired for refuge; the Cardinals assembled a third at Pavia, and elected to the apostolic chair Alexander the Fifth; and the Emperor Robert appointed, for the same purpose, a Diet at Frankfort; all of which were ineffectual for the desired termination of the schism. Sigismund, the successor of Robert in the Imperial throne, more fortunate in his attempts, had the satisfaction to conclude this intricate affair. With the concurrence of John the Twenty-third, who had been elected Pope upon the death of Alexander, he convoked a general council at Constance; where, attended by a prodigious concourse of cardinals, prelates, and nobles, there were present one hundred sovereign princes, with twenty-seven ambassadors of the several European Courts. The deliberations, including a variety of regulations respecting the established faith, and ecclesiastical reforms, occupied forty-five sessions, and extended

to

A. D.  
1422.

to the protracted period of three years and a half; when, among other determinations, the three competitors for the tiara were deposed; Otho Colonna was elevated to the vacant chair of Saint Peter, under the name of Martin the Fifth; and, to the eternal disgrace of Sigismund, in violation of the safe conduct he had granted, John Huss, who had attended to defend the articles of his faith, was, with his disciple, Jerome of Prague, condemned by the fathers of the council, delivered over to the secular judge, and, with their writings, committed to the flames. The unshaken fortitude with which they met their fate, increased the number of their proselytes; and the perfidy of the Emperor, with the undeserved end of these popular reformers, was dreadfully revenged by a long and sanguinary war, of sixteen years.



## CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE REIGNS OF CHARLES VII. LEWIS XI. CHARLES  
VIII. AND LEWIS XII.

Maid of Orleans—Charles crowned at Rheims—Henry VI. crowned at Paris,—English quit France—The League—English land in France—Provence, &c. added to the French Crown—French invade Naples—Return to France—Popularity of Lewis XII.—Brittany added to the French Crown—Lewis seizes Milan—Attacks Spain, and defeated—Naples taken—Genoa revolts—League of Cambray—Venetians defeated—Holy League against France—The Pope takes Mirandola—Allies defeated—Gaston de Foix killed—Milan and Navarre taken—Henry VIII. of England invades France—Battle of Spurs—Swiss bought off—Death of the Queen—Lewis settles his family—Marries the Princess Mary of England—Dies.

**C**HARLES was in the twentieth year of his age when his father died; and although Henry VI. King of England (who was then only ten months old) had been proclaimed King of France at the funeral, yet the Dauphin resolved to assert his claim to the crown. He met with many difficulties. The Duke of Bedford assumed the title of Regent for the English King, and was joined by the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretany. Charles was supported by the provinces on the other side of the Loire. A vigorous war was commenced, in which Charles

A. D.  
1422.

VOL. III.

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was

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1422.

was for some time very unfortunate; several places which declared for him were taken by the Regent, and his troops were several times defeated. In a word, he was, at the end of the first year of his reign, so distressed, as to be scarcely able to keep an open table. But, in 1424, a difference happened between the English and the Duke of Burgundy, which eventually was of the greatest service to him. The cause of this difference was, the Duke of Gloucester, Regent of England, and brother of Henry V. late King of England, having married Jaqueline, Countess of Hainault in her own right (she being an heiress), after she had been divorced from the Duke of Brabant, by a Pope (whose authority in this instance was doubted) — the Duke of Burgundy; who was related to the Duke of Brabant, highly disapproved of this conduct of the Regent of England. The Duke of Bedford, who was brother to the Duke of Gloucester, very ardently endeavoured to reconcile the Duke of Burgundy to the Duke of Gloucester; but all his efforts were ineffectual. The Duke of Burgundy demanded the city of Orleans to be put into his possession; to which the Duke of Bedford would not consent. At this time Orleans was besieged by the English, and very much distressed. The French sent a convoy of provisions for the relief of the garrison. This convoy was defeated and taken. From a quantity of herrings being found amongst the provisions, this action was called

3428.

called the Battle of the Herrings. After this misfortune, Charles began to think seriously of retiring to the mountains of Dauphiny; when a miracle, as it is called by the French writers, appeared in his favour.

A. D.  
1428.

Maid of  
Orleans.

A little before the battle of Herrings, a young woman, whose name was Joan d'Arc, a native of the village of Domeremi, near Vaucouleurs, came to the Governor of the last-mentioned place, and demanded that he should send her to the King, as having been promised, by the divine revelation, that, under her command, the King's forces should raise the siege of Orleans. But the Governor, considering she was only eighteen or twenty, and a person no way distinguished amongst the country people for understanding; refused her request for fear of making himself ridiculous. She went, after the battle, and reproached him for want of zeal for his master's service, and told him, that if he did not now send her, Orleans would be lost. Upon this declaration the Governor ordered two gentlemen to attend her to Chinon; where the King was; and, though there could not be a more dangerous journey, yet, as she had confidently promised, they performed it safely. Upon her arrival, the council made some difficulty of admitting her to the royal presence; but at length she gained admittance. The King was in his apartment, surrounded by many persons of distinction, without any marks of his high rank; to whom she

A. D.  
1428.



immediately addressed herself, and told him, she had a commission from Heaven to deliver his city of Orleans, and to conduct him afterwards to Rheims, in order to celebrate his coronation. The King either was, or affected to be, in great doubt, demanded some evident incontestable marks of her mission, caused her to be examined by a committee of divines, and sent her afterwards to Poitiers, to confer with the Parliament. Having had the advice of both, he ordered a body of ten thousand or twelve thousand men to assemble, in order to serve as an escort to a great convoy, which she undertook to conduct safely into the city. This service she performed; shut herself afterwards in the place, with the assistance of the bastard of Orleans, harassed the besiegers so much, that at length they were constrained to retire, after having lain before and in the neighbourhood of the city for upwards of a year. From this exploit she was called La Pucelle d'Orleans. She wore the dress of a man; appeared on horseback like a young man; charged at the head of the troops with great courage; affected an extraordinary piety; and was irreproachable in point of morals.

La Pucelle remained but two days in the town of Orleans, after the raising the siege; and then repaired to the King, whom she pressed exceedingly to take the resolution of going to Rheims, there to accept the crown after the accustomed forms; which step, however, was vehemently opposed by several



A. D.  
1423.

several of the great Lords, and most of the experienced officers, as a thing utterly impracticable; but the Pucelle had her party likewise, who prevailed; and it was at length resolved it should be attempted. The difficulties were great; but the Pucelle had the honour of overcoming most of them, by which means her reputation was highly raised, the courage of the French troops elevated, from a notion that they were conducted by a person who was inspired; and this opinion likewise made no small impression on the English and Burgundian troops, who were no longer invincible in their garrisons, or even in the field, where victory had accompanied them before. In fine, Rheims opened her gates; the King was solemnly crowned on the 17th of July, pushed his conquests as far as the Seine, and even made an attempt upon Paris, where the Pucelle exposed herself extremely, but at length was obliged to desist. In the mean time,

1428;

A. D.  
1419.  
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As a mark of his favour and gratitude for past services, he ennobled her family; bestowed on them the titles of Du Lef, and all their descendants male and females: the latter part of this grant has been since abolished.

The Duke of Burgundy having laid siege to Compeigne, she threw herself into it with a considerable force; and some days afterwards headed a sortie, in which she was made prisoner by the English, who sent her to Rouen. The Duke of Bedford ordered her to be tried for heresy, sorcery, and seducing the people from their duty. The trial lasted several days. She defended herself with great firmness and spirit: but the English judges condemned her to the flames, and she was burned in the market place at Rouen. She suffered with courage, and asserted she was no impostor. Her memory was vindicated twenty-four years afterwards by the papal authority. But the dispute is not yet settled, whether she was a saint, a witch, or only a girl of spirit.

Henry VI.
crowned at
Paris, 1431.

The English affairs in France being in an unpromising state, and the Duke of Burgundy very lukewarm, the Regent judged it necessary to bring the young King of England over, and cause him to be crowned at Paris. This was done on the 17th of December, 1431; but not one of the French temporal peers attended the ceremony, and only two of the spiritual. An attempt was made to heal the breach with the Duke of Burgundy: the counties

counties of Brie and Champagne were given to him; but these did not satisfy him. The war having continued some time longer, without any important advantage being gained by either side, the Pope interfered, and, under his mediation, a negociation for peace between the French and English was opened at Arras; but the Duke of Bedford would not abate any thing of his pretensions. This disappointment occasioned Charles to offer terms to the Duke of Burgundy, who accepted them; and a treaty was concluded between them in the year 1435. In the following year the Duke of Bedford died. This circumstance ruined the English affairs in France. Many towns immediately surrendered to Charles, and amongst them was Paris herself. The English troops were so fatigued and diminished by continual harassing, that at length a truce was concluded between the French and them. This gave to Charles the quiet possession of his kingdom; a great part of which had, during upwards of three hundred years, been subject to England. The joy in France upon this occasion was excessive. Charles died in 1461, aged fifty-eight.

A. D.
1431.

1435

English quit
France.

LEWIS XI.

THIS Prince was the son of the preceding: he succeeded to the throne at the age of thirty-nine years. The principal trait of his reign is, that he

1463

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laid

A. D.
1461.

The League.

1468.

laid the foundation of that absolute power, which the Kings of France from this period assumed. His first step was, to remove all the ministry who refused to join heartily in the support of his measures. This gave rise to a junction of many of the Nobility, for the preservation of their privileges and liberties against the designs of the King. This junction, or union, was called the League for the Public Good. The Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany entered into it. The Duke of Burgundy being a powerful Prince, the King resolved to bring him to battle, in the hope of crushing the league at one stroke. They came to an engagement near Mont l'Heri; but no advantage was gained on either side: yet, as the King moved off in the night, the Duke claimed the victory; which encouraged him to form great designs, and these in the end cost him his life. Lewis was full of dissimulation; and, to ingratiate himself with the people, he took off some trifling taxes, and made large promises of reducing many more, and of doing other acts of favour: but, as soon as the danger was over, he disregarded them all. He entered into a negotiation with several of the heads of the league; and found means to sow discord amongst the rest, by which at length he totally dissolved the league. The Duke of Burgundy however was not amongst those who submitted to him. In the year 1468 the Duke had very nearly surrounded him at Peronne, and Lewis was in
great

great danger of being made prisoner. At length the Duke, who was Lewis's most troublesome enemy, was killed by the Swifs, before Nancy, in the year 1477. Immediately upon this event, Lewis seized upon the Duke's dominions; and at first it was imagined, that he would, by marriage, have annexed them to the Crown. But, such was his hatred to the Burgundian line, that he chose to ruin it entirely.

A. D.
1468.

1477.

While these transactions were going on, the House of York had succeeded to the English throne, and Edward IV. landed in France with a large army; but Lewis found means to prevail upon him, by presents and promises, to return home. He then added Provence, Anjou, and Maine, to the French Crown. The Duke of Lorraine had some pretensions to these provinces, but he treated them with contempt. One of his practices was, to borrow money of his officers; and those who refused to lend him any, were instantly discharged. He believed that this circumstance attached the army to his person and measures. He died in the year 1483, aged sixty years.

English land
in France.

Provence,
&c. added
to the
French
Crown.

CHARLES VIII.

THIS youth was only thirteen years and two months old, when his father died. In the early part of his reign he had a difference with the Duke of

1483.

of

A. D.

1483.

1491.

French in-
vade Naples.

of Bretany, and prepared an army with a design to subdue that province: but, being informed that a marriage was in negociation between Maximilian of Austria, and Anne, heirefs of Bretany, and being unwilling that a right to this duchy should pass to the House of Austria, he, by persuasions and menaces, prevailed upon the lady to break with Maximilian, and to marry him. This event happened in the year 1491. Thus Bretany became annexed to the Crown of France. In a little time afterwards, Henry VII. King of England besieged Boulogne: but Charles prevailed on him to retire, with the acceptance of a large sum of money. Henry was the more willing to do this, because Maximilian, whom Charles had affronted, not only by robbing him of his intended wife, but in sending back his sister Margaret, to whom he had been engaged, had not fulfilled his promise of joining with Henry. When Maximilian found that a separate peace had been made between Henry and Charles, he desired his son Philip, who was governor of the Netherlands, to come to an agreement with Charles. This was what the French King wanted; because it gave him an opportunity to prosecute his design against Naples. Under a pretence that the right of the House of Anjou to Naples, which was, by the will of the last Duke, given to Lewis XI. had devolved upon him, he resolved to attack that kingdom. The Duke of Milan, who had a quarrel with the King of Naples, encouraged

encouraged him in this enterprize. Charles began his march for Naples in 1494. The Pope, who could not obstruct his march, declared him King of Naples. As Ferdinand (King of Naples) and his son, were detested for their many cruelties, the whole kingdom submitted to Charles as soon as he entered it.

A. D.
1494.

The Turk was the first power who took alarm at this unexpected conquest. He feared for his provinces of Greece, which were ready to revolt upon the least assistance from the French. But Charles gave himself up to pleasures; in which he became so completely absorbed, that a league of Princes was formed for his exclusion from Italy; and the Spanish, Venetian, and other troops were in the field, before he knew of the negotiations which had brought them there. He then immediately began his retreat for France, in which he used the greatest diligence; after having taken, and thus suffered to be retaken, the entire kingdom of Naples in the space of one year. The allied troops harassed his retreat, but could not impede his march. He died without issue at the age of twenty-seven, in the year 1498. In him ended the direct line of Philip of Valois.

1495.

Return to
France.

1498.

LEWIS XII.

THIS Prince was great-grandson of Charles V. who left two sons, Charles, his successor, and Lewis,

A. D.
1498.

Popularity
of Lewis
XII.

Lewis, who became Duke of Orleans. The Duke of Orleans married the daughter and heiress of the Duke of Milan; by whom he had Charles, Duke of Orleans, and father of Lewis XII. He was thirty-six years of age when he ascended the throne; and, from his general good character, was equally esteemed by the Nobility, and beloved by the people. Immediately after his coronation, he remitted one tenth part of all the imposts: he continued all the ministers, magistrates, and officers of his predecessor, to the surprise of the whole nation, and to the astonishment of the persons thus favoured. When he was reminded that he had been made prisoner by Trimouille, he returned that ever-memorable answer, "That he did not become
" a King, to revenge the quarrels of a Duke of
" Orleans." It is one thing to pronounce a fine maxim, and another to make it the rule of our conduct. He was deservedly called the father of his people; but he was the only monarch of his house. The Duke and Duchess of Bourbon looked upon themselves as disgraced, and could scarcely believe him in earnest, when the King not only assured them of his pardon, but of his affection. It was provided, by their contract of marriage, that if they died without male heirs, the immense estates of the family should be annexed to the Crown. They had only one daughter, whom they intended to marry to Charles, Count of Montpensier. The King voluntarily renounced his
interest,

interest, and thereby made her the heiress of the first line of Bourbon. He treated the Queen Dowager with the greatest respect, settled her jointure to her satisfaction, and allowed her to reside in, and to assume the sovereignty of her own dominions. To these virtues he added the austerity of military discipline, which he restored to the army. He was desirous of posterity; and therefore, with the assistance of the Pope (Alexander VI.) he dissolved his marriage with Joan, the daughter of Lewis XI. and espoused the late King's widow; by which Bretany was again annexed to the Crown of France. The Pope entered into this measure with particular alacrity, because he saw he should thereby provide for his bastard, Cæsar Borgia, who had resigned the Cardinal's hat, in order to get a better provision. The French writers say, that Queen Joan was a woman of exemplary piety and virtue, and though at first inclined to vindicate her marriage; yet at length, seeing it was to no purpose, she submitted patiently. The King granted her the revenues of the Duchy of Berry, and some other rents. Cæsar Borgia was gratified with the Dukedom of Valentinois, and the daughter of the Lord Albert (a lady of high birth), for his wife.

A. D.
1498:

Bretany
added to the
French
Crown.

After these arrangements, the first object of the King was the establishment of peace at home, which he accomplished with equal wisdom. He had formed designs upon Italy; and his resolution

was

A. D.
1498.

Lewis
seizes Milan

was to accomplish them. Upon his second marriage, he added to his other titles, those of the Two Sicilies and Jerusalem, together with the Duchies of Milan and Bretagne. He claimed the first, as heir of the House of Anjou; the second, as descending to him from his grandmother Valentina; and the third, in virtue of his marriage. He first invaded Milan, which his army seized without any opposition; the Duke having fled, with his family, to Inspruck, in Germany. The Venetians had previously engaged to assist him in his conquest; and to them he allotted part of the newly acquired territory. All the Italian writers agree in saying, that this conquest was made, not by the power of arms, but by the arts of treachery and corruption. Certain it is, that Novara and Alexandria were quickly taken; Mortara capitulated instantly; the keys of Pavia were delivered without a siege; and Genoa submitted in the like manner. Milan also opened her gates; and the citadel, the strongest place then in Europe, with provision for two, and ammunition for four years, was sold by Bernardin Curtio, who had been entrusted with the care of it; for which the French officers treated him with such contempt, that he died in ten days afterwards. All this success was justly ascribed to the penetration and judgment of his minister, Cardinal D'Amboise.

Attacks
Spain, and
is defeated.

After this, he ordered an army to march into Spain, and a fleet to be fitted out at Marseilles, to
attack

attack the coast of Spain, in resentment for the ill usage he had met with some time ago from Ferdinand the Catholic: but both these expeditions failed: the fleet returned without doing any thing, and the army was defeated in Roussillon.

A. D.
1498.

His army in Italy had better success. Naples was over-run; and Frederick, the King of it, submitted to Lewis, and was afterwards supported in France by a pension of thirty thousand crowns.

Naples
taken, 1504.

Lewis entered into a negociation with Ferdinand the Catholic, to divide Naples between them: but they did not agree; which offended Lewis so highly, that he ordered his army to invade Spain a second time: but the French were again repulsed, and obliged to return to France.

In the year 1507 the city of Genoa, at that time belonging to the duchy of Milan, revolted. Lewis marched against it in person; and, after a short siege, he compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion.

Genoa
revolts, 1507.

The Emperor Maximilian apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, that Lewis meant to seize upon all Italy; desired a passage for some troops through the Venetian territories into Italy. The Venetians, although not in alliance with France, attacked these troops, and defeated them.

1508.

This circumstance gave rise to the famous league of Cambray; the ostensible pretence for which, was to humble this small opulent republic. The Emperor reconciled himself to the French King,

League of
Cambray.

A. D.
1308.

King, to gratify his resentment against Venice; and he also prevailed on the Catholic King, and the Pope, to enter into the confederacy. Lewis was guilty of a great error, in thus allying himself with his natural enemies; nor was it until after a long negociation, that he could be persuaded to enter into this famous league, by which the State of Venice was consigned to destruction. This league was one of the greatest and most singular events that Europe had ever seen; as being a league founded in resentment, and diametrically opposite to the interest of every one of the contracting powers. The republic of Venice was grown extremely potent, and not by the most direct methods; for great power in States, like great wealth among private men, is very rarely acquired but by fraud or oppression: but the republic of Venice was the bulwark of Italy; it prevented the Pope from drawing the Emperor, or the King of the Romans, as the phrase then was, into Lombardy, against the French; moderated the views of King Lewis, and hindered him from extending his conquest; kept the Pope from being reduced to a state of despondency; and preserved to Ferdinand the Catholic the kingdom of Naples. All this influence resulted from their great power, however that power might be acquired; and therefore, though it might be the interest of each of these potentates separately to recover, if possible, what had been taken from them by the republic,—yet, to oblige

her to refund all her conquests, was to reduce a power of which they were all afraid, and open a source of perpetual wars thereby amongst themselves. The allied troops attacked the Venetians at Ghiera, and totally defeated them; but did not know how to make the best use of their victory. Lewis went to Milan, and the Venetians abandoned the Continent. Next year Lewis saw his error.

A. D.
1508.

Venetians
defeated,
1509.

The Pope (Julius the Second) being bent upon the aggrandisement of the Papacy, resolved to drive the French totally out of Italy. For this purpose a league was formed under his auspices, which was called the Holy League; consisting of the Pope, Ferdinand the Catholic, Venice, Switzerland, and England, in 1510. Lewis was tender of the Pope, and ordered his troops not to make incursions on the lands of the Church. The Pontiff, emboldened by this treatment, proceeded to the greatest lengths of tyranny and ambition. He ordered his general to lay siege to Mirandola, though by no shadow of equity could he justify the measure. The advances not being made with that rapidity he expected, he repaired thither himself, appeared in the trenches at seventy years of age, and exhorted his troops to the attack, and, on its surrender, caused himself to be carried in military triumph through the breach in the wall. The allies took Brescia, and laid siege to Bologna. Gaston de Foix, the French King's nephew, though only twenty years of age, had now the command of the French army in Italy, Cardinal

Holy League
against
France.

1510.

The Pope
takes Mi-
randola.

Allies de-
feated, 1511.

A. D.
1511.



d'Amboise being dead. This young general attacked the allied army, particularly the Venetians, near Brescia, and routed them with prodigious loss. He afterwards attacked the whole confederate army at Ravenna, and entirely defeated them; but, pursuing too far, he was killed.

Gaston de
Foix killed.

The loss of this young hero proved fatal to the French. They abandoned Italy entirely: the Duke of Milan was restored, under the auspices of the Emperor and the Swiss: Ferdinand the Catholic entered Navarre, and took it.

Milan and
Navarre
taken, 1512.

The loss of Milan affected Lewis more than any other circumstance. He resolved to recover it, and with this view he made peace immediately with the Venetians. He then entered the duchy, and possessed himself of great part of it: but an army of Swiss coming against him, the French troops a second time abandoned it. After the death of Gaston de Foix the French troops were badly paid: they were sometimes on the point of revolting for their pay, and they had no confidence in their generals.

Henry VIII.
invades
France.

Henry VIII. King of England, in consequence of his being a party in the Holy League, invaded France, and laid siege to Terouane: the French, endeavouring to relieve it, were defeated at Guinegast. This battle was called the Battle of the Spurs, because the French used their spurs more than their swords; that is, they fled. A few days after, the place surrendered; and the Allies not agreeing who

Battle of
Spurs.

who should keep it, it was dismantled, and burnt. Henry next laid siege to Tournay, which he took, and resolved to keep. He then returned to England in triumph.

A. D.

1512.

The Swifs laid siege to Dijon; but the Duke of Tremouill, who commanded that garrison, opened a negociation with the besiegers, and upon the payment of twenty thousand crowns, and giving hostages for the payment of a further sum, he prevailed upon them to retire.

Swifs
bought off,

1513.

At the beginning of the year the Queen died. This event grieved Lewis very much. He resolved upon making peace with all his enemies, and settling his family. He married his eldest daughter to Francis, Count of Angoulesme, his presumptive heir, and gave him Brittany. His second daughter he married to the grandson of Ferdinand the Catholic, and renounced in her favour his claims on Milan and Genoa. These alliances were not agreeably received by either the Court of Rome, or that of Vienna. Henry of England was offended with the Emperor, because his sister, the Princess Mary, for whom Henry had a real affection, was slighted by Charles of Austria, for a younger daughter of France. The Duke of Longueville, then prisoner in England, but at the same time well received at Court, took advantage of the temper the King was in, to suggest, that the King, his master, was a widower in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and that the Princess might be as

Death of
the Queen.Lewis settles
his family.Marries the
Princess
Mary of
England.

A. D.
1513.



well married to him, as to a Prince of Austria. Henry approved of the hint; and, upon its being mentioned to Lewis, he approved of it also. The marriage took place in a few months afterwards at Abbeville. A peace with England preceded this event.

Lewis having extricated himself from so many difficulties, and brought his affairs into good order, found the gout encrease upon him very fast; and his affection for the most sprightly and the most beautiful young Princess in Europe, hastened him to his grave. He died the night following the first of January, 1515, in the fifty-fifth of his age, and in the seventeenth year of his reign.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXXV.

REIGN OF FRANCIS I.

Battle of Marignan—Francis takes Milan—Buys Tournay—Declares war against Charles V.—Recovers Navarre, and loses Tournay—Loses Milan—Alliance against him—Defeated at Pavia, and made prisoner—Released by treaty—Holy League—Francis joins the League—Takes Milan—Lays siege to Naples—Francis's sons released—War renewed—Charles invades France, and is twice defeated—Peace between Francis and Charles—War renewed—Battle in Piedmont—Alliance between Charles and Henry—France invaded.

THE late King dying without male issue, the crown devolved to Francis, Count d'Angouleme, and Duke de Valois, great grandson of Lewis, Duke of Orleans. He confirmed the late King's treaties with England and Venice, and entered into one with Charles, King of Spain: but revived his claim to Milan and Genoa; and, as soon as possible, he made his arrangements preparatory to his attack upon Milan. The Swiss, however, opposed him, and attacked him in his camp at Marignan, near Milan: both sides fought desperately. At length the Swiss were repulsed, with the loss of ten thousand men. By this victory Francis obtained Milan; and he allowed the Duke a pension of

A. D.
1515.

Battle of
Marignan.

Francis takes
Milan, 1518.

A. D. thirty thousand ducats. He made an agreement
 1518. with the Pope (~~new~~ Leo X.) to present to all ecclesiastical benefices, and the Pope have the first fruits. In the year 1518, he bought Tournay from the English, with a sum of money.

Buy's Tournay.

1519. Next year the Emperor Maximilian died.

Declares war against Charles V.

Recovers Navarre, and loses Tournay.

Loses Milan

Alliance against him.

Francis aspired to the Imperial dignity; but the Archduke Charles (the celebrated Charles the Fifth) was preferred. Francis, knowing the enterprising spirit of this Prince, declared war against him. Spain being disturbed by domestic dissensions, Francis in a little time recovered Navarre; but in the Low Countries, his designs were frustrated: and Charles took from him St. Amand and Tournay. And in Italy the French were defeated by the Germans, near Bicoca; by which they lost all Milan. Charles, Duke of Bourbon, was at this time the most potent enemy of Francis. The queen mother of Francis wanted to take from him his duchy of Bourbon; upon which he entered into the Emperor's service, and into an alliance with him, and with the King of England. It was agreed between the two last, to divide France between them, and to marry the Duke of Bourbon to the Emperor's sister, and to give him the kingdom of Arles.

1524.

While the English made a descent upon Picardy, the Duke of Bourbon, in the year 1524, defeated, with great slaughter, the French army in the Milanese, commanded by Admiral Bonnevet, who

was

was sent to recover Milan. Francis was in the next campaign persuaded, by Bonnevet, to take the command himself on the side of Italy. It is asserted, by several of the French and Italian writers, that Francis was induced to this measure on account of a very beautiful lady in Milan, of whose description he became passionately enamoured. All his officers, courtiers, and his mother, endeavoured to dissuade from it: but all was in vain. He sat down before Pavia. The city held out with great firmness. The Duke of Bourbon, who had retired upon Francis's approach, having received considerable reinforcements, attacked him in his camp on the 24th of February, entirely routed his army, and took Francis prisoner. He was carried into Spain, and there kept so closely confined, that his life became in danger. Charles, rightly supposing the States of France would not pay so much for a dead king as for a live one, consented to a negociation for his ransom. The treaty was signed at Madrid, where Francis was confined. The conditions imposed by Charles were, that Francis should resign the duchy of Burgundy to the Emperor in full sovereignty; that he should renounce all claim to every part of Italy; to Tournay, Lisle, &c. that he should pay to the King of England five hundred thousand crowns, which the Emperor owed to that Monarch; and several other conditions of lesser moment: and, lastly, he promised to perform these

A. D.
1525.



Defeated at
Pavia, and
made pri-
soner.

Released by
treaty.

A. D.
1526.

conditions, or to return prisoner into Spain. His two sons were given to the Spaniards as hostages.

Holy
League.

About this time a confederacy was entered into, by England and the States of Italy, which was also called the *Holy League*, because the Pope was at the head of it, for checking the power of Charles, which seemed to menace the liberties of Europe.

Francis joins
the League.

The conditions of the release of Francis being very dishonourable, Francis declared them not binding; because they were extorted from him while he was a prisoner. The same was asserted by the States of France; and the Burgundians in particular asserted, that he could not separate Burgundy from the Crown, because his right to that duchy was only for his life. After these declarations, Francis joined the league against Charles. The Emperor charged Francis with breaking his solemn promise. Francis gave him the lie in direct terms, and sent him a challenge; which Charles, however, did not accept.

Takes Mi-
lan.

The French army, commanded by Odet de Foix, Baron de Lautree, after overrunning the Milanese, penetrated to Naples, and laid siege to that city: but a stop was put to this success by the imprudence of Francis, who refused to bestow the government of Genoa on Admiral Andrea Doria, who was a native of Genoa, and to restore the town of Savona to this republic.

1528.

Doria went over to the party of Charles, and had a great share in preserving the communication with

with Naples by sea. During the long siege of this town, a plague broke out in the French army; which having carried off great numbers, with their general, the rest were made prisoners. This was followed with the loss of all in Milan: and that great man, Doria, acquired an immortal glory, by preserving the liberty of his country, when it was in his power to take upon himself the sovereign authority.

A. D.
1528.

Lays siege
to Naples.

At length Francis, being desirous that his children, left as hostages, should obtain their liberty, a treaty was, in the year 1529, concluded at Cambray, by which he agreed to pay a large sum for the ransom of his sons, to give up the sovereignty of Artois and Flanders to Charles, and to renounce all pretensions to France.

1529.
Francis's
sons re-
leased.

The war being renewed in the year 1535, Francis had a mind to open himself a way to Milan, through Savoy; and, having set up fresh pretensions to this duchy, in the right of his mother, he soon became master of most of it. On the death of Sforca, the Duke, which happened about the same time, it was resolved by the Emperor to annex the duchy of Milan to the dominions of the House of Austria. Having, in order to make sure of this duchy, thrown himself into Provence, with an army of 50,000 men, he pillaged Aix, and laid siege to Marseilles; but his army falling sick, he thought proper to retire. Another army from the Netherlands, which penetrated, at the same time, into

War renewed.

Charles
invades
France, and
is twice de-
feated.

A. D.
1528.

into Picardy, was, after taking Guise, St. Pol, and Montreuil, defeated at Peronne. Upon this success, Francis, pretending that the sovereignty of Artois and Flanders were inseparable from the French crown, summoned Charles to appear as his vassal, and to do homage for these counties: and he likewise entered into an alliance with the Turks. The first of these appeared to all mankind ridiculous; and the second was thought extraordinary in a Christian Prince: but Francis endeavoured to excuse it, by saying, that the Emperor had endeavoured to do the same. By the mediation of the Pope, the truce, concluded the year before at Nice, was, in the year 1538, prolonged for the term of nine years; and these two Princes, who had been so long inveterate enemies, in an interview at Aigues-Mortes, gave each other the strongest assurances of being heartily reconciled.

1538.
Peace be-
tween Fran-
cis and
Charles.

1539.

In the following year, Charles, for such was his confidence in Francis, went through France to quiet a commotion in Ghent. He, however, for his greater severity, made the French King believe he would give up the Milanese to him. This being afterwards refused, the Constable, Montmorency, was disgraced for advising Francis not to insist upon a promise from Charles when he went to Paris.

Warren-
ed.
1542.

In the year 1542 the truce was broke by Francisco, whose ambassadors Cæsar Fregisa and Anthony Rincon, in their way through Milan to Venice,

A. D.
1542.Battle in
Piedmont.Alliance
between
Charles and
Henry.
France in-
vaded.

Venice, were murdered, as was supposed by order of the governor; and Charles had lately suffered some loss before Algiers, he thinking the opportunity favourable, resolved to attack him with five armies, at the same time: one of these took many places in Luxembourg; and a diversion being made in Hungary, by Solyman, Emperor of the Turks, Gran, and some other towns on that side, were taken. The pirate Barbarossa came also to the assistance of the French, but his corsairs did them more hurt than good. Charles, on his part, concluded an alliance with Henry VIII. of England, whom Francis had disgusted by assisting the Scotch; and, after chastising the Duke of Cleves, for his attachment to France, sat down before Landrecy. His attempt failed on this place; and the French, in the mean time, obtained a victory over the Imperialists, near Ceresoles, in Piedmont; but they could not improve it, because many of their troops were recalled, to oppose the Emperor and Henry, who had agreed to enter France with an army of 100,000 men. The Emperor had, after taking Luxemburg, advanced as far as Châteaui-Thiery; and the city of Paris was in the greatest consternation. If Henry had at this time made the best of his way through Picardy, according to the agreement betwixt him and Charles, that metropolis must have fallen into their hands; and they might have penetrated into the heart of the kingdom. As he did not, Charles concluded

A. D.

1547.



a treaty with Francis at Cressy, in the year 1547 ; by which it was agreed, that all places taken, should be restored, on both sides. Charles, moreover, promised to the Duke of Orleans, second son of Francis, his daughter in marriage, with either the Duchy of Milan, or the Netherlands, as a portion : but this match was prevented from taking effect by the Duke's death. Francis died in the year 1547, aged 52 years.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND FRANCIS II.

Henry punishes Bourdeaux—Regains Boulogne—Attacks the Emperor—Returns to France—Sienna taken—Battle of Marciano—Charles V. regains his crown—Truce—Truce broken—Battle of St. Quintin—Calais taken from the English, and all their possessions in France—Battle of Gravelines—Dauphin married to Mary Queen of Scots—Treaty of Cambray—Death of Henry—His character and family—Francis II.—State of the House of Bourbon—Arts of the Queen Mother—Death and character of Francis II.

HENRY II.

THIS Prince ascended the throne of his father on the 31st of March, 1547, being the day on which he became twenty-nine years of age. He disregarded the dying advice of his father, which was, to keep the present ministers in their respective offices; for, as soon as his father was buried, he discharged them every one, and took those into his service whom his father had most disliked. After his coronation, he made the tour of his frontiers, to see that all his towns were in a perfect state of defence. At this time the marquisate of Salucca fell to him by the death of Gabriel, the last Marquis, without heirs. In the year 1549, he severely punished the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, who had revolted; and in the next year he re-purchased


A. D.

1547.

1549:

Punishes

Bourdeaux.

A. D. 1549.  Regains Boulogne. chased Boulogne of the English for four hundred thousand crowns. The Emperor being at this time engaged in a war with the Turks, and with his Protestant subjects in Germany, Henry, in the year 1551, resolved to break with him. Having concluded an alliance with Maurice, Elector of Saxony, he, in the year 1552, marched an army towards the Rhine; which, in its way, surprised Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and was very near doing the same to Strasburgh; but a separate peace being made by Maurice with the Emperor, and Henry being requested by some German Princes to go no further into the empire, he retired. Henry in his turn took several places in Luxembourg. Metz being after this besieged by Charles, with an army of one hundred thousand men, the Duke of Guise defended it so bravely, that, after great loss, he gave over the siege. In revenge for this disappointment, he threw himself into the county of Artois, and, having taken Terouanne, entirely demolished it. Hesden met with the same fate, and the garrisons of both places were put to the sword.

Returns to France. In Italy the French took Sienne, and some places in the island of Corsica; but being being defeated in the year 1555, near Marciano, they abandoned the former. In the year 1556 Charles resigned the crown of Spain in favour of his son, Philip II.; and being desirous that the beginning of his son's reign should be peaceable, he had, for that purpose, agreed upon a suspension of arms: but this truce

Sienne taken. Battle of Marciano. Charles V. regains his crown. 1556. Truce.

was

was scarcely signed, before hostilities were, at the instigation of Pope Paul VI. recommenced. The Duke of Guise was sent into Italy, ^{1556.} with a powerful army, but did nothing remarkable. Philip having engaged England on his side, besieged St. Quintin, with an army of fifty thousand men. The Constable, Montmorency, attempted to relieve this place, but he was entirely defeated. If this victorious army had marched directly towards Paris, France would have been in a bad condition: but Philip, suspecting that the Duke of Savoy, his ally, might, for the sake of obtaining good terms, reconcile himself to France, would not suffer the conquerors to advance into the country. After taking St. Quintin by storm, the rest of the campaign was wasted in taking Han, Chatelet, and Noyon. This indolence of the Spaniards gave the French an opportunity to re-establish their affairs.

In the year 1557, the Duke of Guise laid siege to Calais, and in eighty days recovered a fortress which had cost Edward the Third a whole year's siege, and which had now been two hundred and ten years in the possession of the English, without so much as a single attempt to retake it. The castle of Guisnes surrendered also after a short siege; and the garrison in that of Hames, though the situation rendered it impregnable, abandoned it; so that, by the end of January, 1558, the English had nothing left of what, for so long a time, they had possessed in France.

In

A. D.
1556.Truce
broken.Battle of St.
Quintin.1557.
Calais taken
from the
English.

A. D.
1558.

Battle of
Gravelines.

Dauphin
married to
Mary Queen
of Scots.
Treaty of
Cambrai.

In the year 1558, the French army, under Marshal de Termes, was beat near Gravelines. With a view of annexing Scotland to the crown of France, the Dauphin was married to Mary, Queen of Scots; but there being no issue of this marriage, the scheme failed. A treaty was, in the same year, concluded at Chateau Cambresis; the conditions of which were, that Chatelet, Han, St. Quintin, and other towns, should be given to Spain; and that the Duke of Savoy should be fully restored to his dominions. After making of this peace, which was indeed very prejudicial to France, it was resolved by the States to meddle no more with Italy, and to break the alliance with the Turks.

1559.

Death of
Henry.

In the year 1559, Henry, in tilting with the Earl of Montgomery, received a wound in his eye, which instantly took away his senses and speech, and carried him off at the end of eleven days. This unhappy accident damped the joy on the marriage which had before been concluded, between his sister Margaret, and Philibert, Duke of Savoy.

This King, to whom the French writers have given the surname of Belliqueux, or Warlike, was indeed of a martial disposition, and fortunate enough in some of his expeditions. He was magnificent in his court rather than in his buildings: he was not very nice in his dress, though it has been remarked, as an evidence of his finery, that he wore silk stockings. He had some tincture of learning, and was a patron to men of letters, more

A. D.

1559.

especially poets. He is blamed for having suffered his Court to sink into every kind of vice and luxury, under the specious titles of gallantry and politeness. He espoused Catherine of Medicis, daughter of Laurence Duke of Florence, born at Florence, April 13, 1519, who at the time of her marriage was but fourteen. Having excellent parts and a good education, she made it her principal study to sustain her personal charms by the affability of her behaviour; yet she never made any great impression on the King's heart, nor had much share in the management of affairs during his reign, at which, though she was exceedingly chagrined, yet she knew how to dissemble it, and spent her time chiefly in the education of her children, whose tempers she diligently studied, and acquired over them an ascendancy, which she preserved to within a few years of her death. Though she bore him no children till ten years after her marriage, her offspring were ten children: Francis, Dauphin, and King of Scots in right of his wife; Lewis, Duke of Orleans, who died at two years of age; Charles, who succeeded his brother Francis; Alexander, whose name at his confirmation was changed to Henry, who succeeded Charles; and Hercules, who at confirmation assumed the name of Francis, and who was successively Duke of Alençon, Brabant, and Anjou, a Prince whose character may be easily collected from the ap-

A. D.
1559.

pellations given him by his mother and his brother Henry. The Queen always called him her fils egarè, that is, her wrong-headed son; and Henry never mentioned him by any other title than ce scelerat, that villain, and charged the King of Navarre, who was afterwards his successor, to put him to death, a task which was not in that Monarch's nature to perform. Her daughters were also five: Elizabeth or Isabella, who was intended for Edward the Sixth of England, demanded for the Infant Don Carlos, and at length married to his father Philip the Second; she died in childbed. Claude, who espoused Charles the Second, Duke of Lorraine; she was the favourite daughter of the Queen. Margaret, the first wife of Henry King of Navarre. Victoria and Johanna, twins, who died in their infancy. Besides these the King had several natural children. By a Scotch lady, whose name was Fleming, he had Henry d'Angoulesme, Grand Prior of France and Governor of Provence; by Phillippa, a native of Piedmont, he had Diana d'Angoulesme, who first espoused Horatio Farnese, and afterwards Francis de Montmorency; by Madame de Seigné he had Henry de Remy; by the Ducheſs of Valentinoiſ he had no children. The manner of this Monarch's death was ſo extraordinary, that an opinion very ſtrongly prevailed of its being foretold by Luke Gaurix, a famous aſtrologer. As this fallacious art

art was the grand foible of that age, even the most judicious historians have given into this tale, and report that Catherine de Medicis having caused the King's horoscope to be judged by the astrologer before-mentioned, he predicted the King would be killed in a duel, by a wound he received in his eye, for which he was extremely derided till the King's misfortune verified his prediction. His body was interred with all his ancestors at St. Denis, the Constable de Montmorency having this charge left to him by those who excluded him from any share in the affairs of state.

A. D.
1559.

FRANCIS II.

ASCENDED the throne in the year 1559, at sixteen years of age. Soon after his accession the civil wars, by which France was so long ravaged, were commenced. In order to understand the origin of these a right, it is necessary to take a retrospective view of events.

The House of Bourbon, which, next to the reigning family of Valois, held the best right to the Crown, had, for a long time, increased so much in riches and power as to make some former Kings jealous. Francis I. did, indeed, in the beginning of his reign, make Charles Duke of Bourbon Constable of France, and Prime Minister;

House of
Bourbon.

A. D.
1559.

Minister; but the maxim of keeping this House under, which his predecessor had followed, soon prevailed.

This being perceived, Charles went into the Emperor's service, and he it was who commanded the Imperial army at the battle of Pavia, where Francis was made prisoner. After many signal services, he was slain at the storming of Rome, in the year 1527. The rest of the Bourbon family were, from that time, looked upon with an evil eye; and the house of Guise and Montmorency were caressed by Francis. The first of these, which had for its chief Claude, Duke of Guise, was a branch of the house of Lorraine; the other, one of the most ancient families of France, was headed by Annas Montmorency, Constable of France. Towards the close of that reign, both these falling into disgrace, were banished the court; and it is said, that Francis, upon his death-bed, advised his son to employ neither of them, representing to him, that it was dangerous to have ministers of such abilities and interest. Notwithstanding this advice, Annas of Montmorency, and Francis Duke of Guise, were both received into favour; but a jealousy soon arose betwixt them, for the former valued himself upon his political capacity, and the latter piqued himself upon his military abilities. The Duke of Guise, who had always been popular, grew more so by defending Metz against Charles,

Charles, and taking Calais from the English. On the contrary, Montmorency was much blamed for losing the battle of St. Quintin, and he was looked upon to be principally concerned in advising the dishonourable peace.

A. D.
1559.

The Guises grew more considerable by the marriage of Francis to Mary Queen of Scots, their sister's daughter; and at length, every thing in France was directed by the Duke and the Cardinal his brother. This not only mortified Montmorency, but the two brothers of the Bourbon family; Anthony King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, would not brook it. Anthony, indeed, being of an easy disposition, had nothing more in view than to recover his kingdom of Navarre, and in the mean time was contented with the revenue he received from Bearn; but the Prince of Conde was ambitious, and so poor withal, that he could not live up to his high rank without some considerable employment. Besides this, the admiral Coligny, an artful proud man, and his brother D'Andelot, who was of a bold enterprising temper, were continually inciting the Prince of Conde to assert the superiority of his family.

This was the situation of affairs when Francis II. who was only sixteen years of age, and by reason of his incapacity and ill state of health, wholly unfit to govern, came to the Crown.

A. D.

1559.

Arts of the
Queen Mo-
ther.

While the heads of the Bourbon and Guise family contended for the Regency, the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medicis, by craftily fomenting their quarrel, contrived to get it into her own hands. As the Guises were her favourites, she gave the command of the army to the Duke; and the Cardinal had the direction of the finances. The constable, Montmorency, under the pretence that his great age wanted repose, was desired to retire from court; and to get him out of the way, the Prince of Conde was sent Ambassador to the Spanish court. Seeing themselves thus excluded from all share of the government, it was resolved, at a meeting held to deliberate on what measures were fittest to be taken, that the King of Navarre should, by cajoling the court, endeavour to procure their advancement. This was tried, but after being many times deceived with vain hopes, he gave it over.

Still the Prince of Conde was determined to push his fortune: and having no great interest, he, by the advice of Coligny, joined himself with the Hugonots; by which name all of the reformed religion in France were called. These people, at this time, under a severe persecution, mortally hated the Guises, whom they looked upon to be the authors of it, and readily embraced him for a leader. It was agreed, that the Hugonots, being assembled secretly, some of

them,

them should demand at court the free exercise of religion; which being refused, the rest were to go instantly in a body, and after murdering the Guises, force the King to confer the regency on the Prince of Conde. A gentleman named Renaudie, took upon himself the execution of this design; but as it was deferred on account of the court's removal to Blais, and from thence to Amboise, it took air, and above twelve hundred Hugonots were seized and put to death. The Prince of Conde was confined and sentenced to die; but luckily for him, the sudden death of Francis, in the year 1560, entirely changed the face of affairs. He expired on the fifth day of December, when he wanted something less than two months of eighteen years of age, after a reign of a year and five months. He was styled the King without vice, which would have been a high character, if it had proceeded less from a want of capacity, than from a want of inclination.

A. D.
1559.

Death and
character of
Francis II.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

REIGN OF CHARLES IX.

Arts of the Queen Mother——Cause and Progress of the Civil Wars ; particularly against the Hugonots—Massacre at Paris—Death of Charles, with Anecdotes and Reflections.

A. D.
1560.
Arts of the
Queen Mother.

BROTHER to Francis II. came to the Crown in the year 1560, aged only eleven years. The Queen Mother, the celebrated Catherine of Medicis, thought herself secure of the Regency, and especially so long as she could keep the Houses of Bourbon and Guise embroiled. In order, therefore, to prevent the views of the Prince of Conde's party, she affected to have no dislike to the Reformed Religion, and rather encouraged it at Court, but Montmorency, Guise, and the Marshal St. Andre, adhered to their design of exterminating that party ; and the King of Navarre, after much entreaty, was prevailed upon to join in their views.

A short

A short time afterwards a conference was held at Poissy between divers persons of both religions: and an Edict was, in January 1562, published for the preservation of the Reformed Religion, which was called the Edict of January. This so incensed the Guise party, that some of them entered the village of Vassy, and having disturbed the Protestants in the exercise of their Religion, put three-score of them to death. From this time hostilities were carried on by both sides: and many battles and skirmishes were fought; but a circumstantial detail of all these is not necessary in a General History, therefore we shall content ourselves with giving a general statement of the most important events during this Civil War, without particular attention to the several scenes of cruelty, which can only awaken the keenest sensations of abhorrence against both political and religious fanaticism.

A. D.
1560.

Cause and
Progress of
the Civil
Wars; par-
ticularly
against the
Hugonots.

In the first war in 1562, the King of Navarre died of a wound received at the siege of Rouen. A battle being fought near Dreux, the Prince of Conde had at first the advantage; but his men falling to the plunder too soon, they were repulsed, and he was taken prisoner. In this action the Marshal St. Andre was killed on the spot, and about four thousand of each party were left dead upon the field. The Duke of Guise was soon after treacherously murdered at the

1562.

A. D.
1562.

the Siege of Orleans, by one Peltrot, at the instigation, as it was supposed, of Coligny.

1563.

In the next year a peace was made; yet, notwithstanding the short continuance of this war, it is computed that at least fifty thousand of the Hugonots were killed; and both parties had suffered so much, that the Queen could now manage either. After the peace, the English were obliged to quit Havre de Grace, which the Hugonots in recompence for their assistance, had put into their hands. As the Hugonots made no scruple of taking plate out of the churches, and coining it; silver was, after this war, more plentiful in France than it had ever been before,

1567.

In the year 1567 the Queen Regent had an interview with the Duke d'Alva, at Bayonne, in which the destruction of the Hugonots, it is generally supposed was resolved upon. This apprehension, with the persecution immediately set on foot with great warmth against them, determined the Hugonots to renew hostilities. Annas of Montmorency being in this second war, mortally wounded at the battle of St. Dennis, he said to a Monk, who was impertinent in his last moments, "Let me alone, I have not lived four-score years, without learning to die a quarter of an hour." The Protestants, who were very inferior in number, got a great reputation by this victory; and the city
of

of Rochelle, which for sixty years afterwards served for a retreat, declared for them.

A. D.
1567.

1568.

In the year 1568, peace was signed, but as neither party was satisfied with the conditions, the war broke out again in the same year. The Prince of Conde being killed by a musket shot at the battle of Navarre, the son of Anthony, who succeeded afterwards to the French Crown, was chosen by the Protestants for their Chief; but the Admiral Coligny had in fact, the whole direction of their affairs. The latter failed in his attempt against Potiers, in defence of which the young Duke of Guise gave the first proofs of his bravery, and lost nine thousand men in the action, near Moncoutour. His reputation did not, however, suffer by these miscarriages, and being supplied with money from the Queen of England, and troops from the Elector Palatine, he soon after assembled a great army.

Upon his advancing in the year 1570 to- wards Paris, a very advantageous peace for the Hugonots was concluded; the Town of Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and la Charitie being given up to them; but the design of the court in this was, that as the Protestants could not be subdued by force, they might thereby be lulled into a dangerous security

With a view to this, they were flattered with great hopes, and the Admiral Coligny, now
much

A. D.
1570.

much careſſed at court, was often conſulted concerning an intended expedition againſt the Spaniards in the Netherlands. A marriage was next year concluded betwixt Henry of Navarre, and the French King's Siſter, to the celebration of which, all the moſt conſiderable perſons amongſt the Proteſtants were invited, that their throats might be more conveniently cut altogether at Paris. As the Admiral was going home one night from court, he was wounded in the arm by ſome ruffians, hired by the Duke of Guiſe to ſhoot him. This was followed with an agreement, that on the 24th of Auguſt, the feaſt of St. Bartholomew, at the ringing of bells for the firſt prayers in the morning, the Hugonots ſhould be all maſſacred; and the Duke de Guiſe took upon himſelf the execution of this infernal deſign. The Admiral, confined to his bed by his wounds, was the firſt who fell a ſacrifice. The ſlaughter continued for ſeven days with the moſt unheard of cruelty. The example ſet at Paris, being followed in many other cities, above thirty thouſand Proteſtants were maſſacred. The King of Navarre, with the young Prince of Conde, were compelled to abjure the Reformed Religion. This horrid buſineſs, which is commonly called *the Wedding* at Paris, has been infamouslly repreſented by ſeveral of the Catholic writers, as a maſter-piece of policy.

Maſſacre at
Paris.

A. D.
1570,

As soon as the consternation of the Protestants was a little over, the war was recommenced with great animosity by the Hugonots. On the breaking out of this fourth war, the Royal army besieged Rochelle, but after being eight months, and losing twelve thousand men before it, the Duke of Anjou, who commanded the siege, took the opportunity of his being elected King of Poland, to raise the siege with honour, and peace was in the year 1573 again concluded. 1573

In the next year, the war was re-kindled, and a third party being formed in France, who called themselves the *Political Party*; these protested, that without any regard to Religion, they only meant the good of the public, the exclusion of the Queen from the Regency, and the banishment of the Guises, and all the Italians from the kingdom. At the head of this party was the house of Montmorency. At first this party proposed nothing but its own encrease, from the conviction of argument and persuasion; yet this party had afterwards a great share in the advancement of King Henry of Poland to the French Monarchy. In the same year, that all these divisions were preponderating in the great scale of national opinion, Charles died at the age of twenty-four years. His maladies had in some degree lain dormant during the preceding winter, revived with double violence on the approach of spring. 1574

Death of
Charles;
with anec-
dotes and
reflections.

A. D. 1574. spring. His brother's and the King of Navarre's unquiet practices, superadded to the renewal of the civil war with the Hugonots, touched him deeply, and irritated the other diseases which preyed on his enfeebled constitution.—“ At least,” said he, “ they might have waited for my death. It is too much to distress me now, debilitated by illness *!”

His mother, Catherine, ever attentive to her own interests, and foreseeing that the King's end could not be very distant, with her usual sagacity and precaution, began to concert measures for securing to herself the future regency. Her son's declining health, and incapacity of personal application to affairs, having in a degree restored to her that authority, of which he had previously determined, and even began to deprive her ; she exerted it to render herself mistress of those persons, who might otherwise trouble and oppose her seizure of the supreme power, in case of Charles's death.

La Mole, and the Count de Coconas, an Italian nobleman, both favourites of the Duke of Alençon, were arrested. The former denied every thing imputed to his charge, and persisted invariably firm: but the Count flattered with

* It was not possible, says Brantome, to ascertain what was the king's disorder; so various and uncommon were the symptoms.

the fallacious hope of life, and a large recompence, being examined in the royal presence, confessed all he knew, and even accused the Marechals de Montmorency and Coffé, as accomplices in the conspiracy. This deposition, though probably extorted only by the expectation of escaping an ignominious punishment, furnished Catherine, with the pretext she wanted.

A. D.
1574.

A circumstance which very strongly marks the superstition of the age, (prone to the use of charms, and addicted to sorcery,) served to hasten the execution of La Mole and Coconas. A little image, composed of wax, was found in the house of the former; the heart of which was pierced through with a needle in many places. It was pretended that this waxen figure represented the King, whom La Mole had devoted to death and bewitched. He denied the imputation, and asserted, that he had procured it from Cosmo Ruggieri, a Florentine, who had followed the Queen-mother into France, and professed magic or divination. Ruggieri, interrogated in turn, confirmed La Mole's assurances; and added, that the intent of the amulet was to gain the affections of a lady, to whom that gentleman was devoted.

Notwithstanding this defence, he was executed some days after with the Count de Coconas, in the "Greve" at Paris. Their bodies, quartered,
were

A. D.
1574.

were placed on wheels, and their heads fixed on two poles. La Mole was peculiarly acceptable to, and beloved by the Queen of Navarre, as his accomplice was by the Duchess of Nevers; and it is confidently asserted by many of the cotemporary historians, that these two Princesses caused the heads of their lovers to be taken down on the night consequent to their execution, and interred them with their own hands in the chapel of St. Martin *.

The two accused noblemen, Montmorency and Cossé, either from a reliance on their own innocence, or a confidence in their rank and authority, came immediately to Court, to justify themselves from the supposed treason attributed to them; but they were committed by Catherine to the Bastille, and the Parisians furnished, with acclamations of joy, eight hundred men to prevent their escape. Orders were likewise issued for the arrest of Henry Prince of Condé, who, as Governor of Picardy, resided at Amiens: but he eluded his enemies; and, quitting the city in disguise, arrived safe at Strasbourg, where he solemnly abjured the Catholic religion, and made public profession of Calvinism.

In Normandy, the Hugonots, vigorously pressed by the Marechal de Matignon, were al-

* Henry the Fourth, in his manifesto presented to the Pope, expressly asserts this extraordinary fact, as well as the intrigue preceding it."

A. D.

1574.

most every where reduced to lay down their arms. The Count de Montgomeri, so long inured to war, and one of their greatest chieftains, was necessitated to surrender himself to Matignon, who invested him in the town of Domfront. His life was promised him, but the Queen-Mother disregarded the promise, and caused him to be executed.

The King began to sink apace under his accumulated disorders; which increased in violence and inveteracy. He long endeavoured to stem their attacks; but his strength diminishing daily, at length compelled him to keep his bed, at the palace in the "Bois de Vincennes." Catherine, improving the opportunity, when her son's vigour of mind began to decline under the pressure of sickness, tried to induce him to invest her with the regency. As long as Charles retained in any degree his usual faculties, he persisted invariably to deny her this proof of his confidence, and could only be persuaded to grant her letters to the governors of the different provinces, which enjoined, that "during his illness, and in case it pleased God to dispose of him, they should obey his mother till the King of Poland's return."

One of the most awful and affecting pictures, which can be held up to human survey, is that of Charles the Ninth expiring. He was cut off in the flower of his age, by a death almost un-

A. D.

1574.

precedented, and accompanied with circumstances the most excitiv of horror and pity. During the two last weeks of his life, nature seemed to make extraordinary efforts to surmount the distemper. He trembled, and was contracted in all his limbs, by sudden paroxysms. His acute pains suffered him not to enjoy any repose, or remain in one posture scarce a moment. He was bathed in his own blood, which oozed out of his pores, and at all the passages of his body, in prodigious quantity.

On the morning of the day when he breathed his last, Catherine availed herself of his debilitated state of mind, to press him again for a nomination to the regency. He complied with her request, though rather by compulsion and weakness, than choice; and she immediately dispatched other letters into the different parts of the kingdom, announcing the King's pleasure.— Yet only a few hours before he expired, Charles openly gave marks of his disapprobation of his mother. Henry King of Navarre having approached his bed, he embraced him many times; and after other demonstrations of amity and attachment, he said to him, “ Je me fie en vous de ma femme, et de ma fille. Je vous les recommande, et Dieu vous gardera! Mais ne vous fiez pas à—.” Catherine, fearing he was about to name herself, interrupted him with—“ Monsieur, ne dites pas cela.”—“ Je le dois

dois dire," answered the dying Monarch, "car c'est la verité."

A. D.
1575.

When he found the near approaches of mortality, he prepared himself for it with perfect composure and equanimity of mind. He ordered the Duke of Alençon and King of Navarre into his presence. Birague the Chancellor, Monsieur de Sauve Secretary of State, and the Cardinal of Bourbon, with several other nobles, were admitted.—He addressed himself to them, with the earnestness of a person about to quit the world. He declared his brother, the King of Poland, successor to the Crown, the Salic law excluding his only child, a daughter, from the throne. He implored the Duke of Alençon not to molest, or attempt to impede his elder brother's entry into the kingdom; and obliged all present to take the oath of allegiance to the absent Sovereign, and of obedience to Catherine, till his arrival.

He commanded the Viscount d'Auchy, captain of the guards, to look well to his charge, and to preserve his unshaken loyalty to the King of Poland. He requested Poquenot, lieutenant of the Swiss guards, to make his dying recommendations to his allies the thirteen Cantons. Above all, he charged Monsieur de la Tour, master of his wardrobe, to carry his tender and constant remembrances to his mistress, the beautiful Mary Touchet, whom he had long loved—.

A. D.

1574.

These duties performed, he fell into an extreme weakness, and yielded his last breath about three o'clock in the afternoon. He wanted only thirty-one days, to have accomplished his twenty-fifth year.

Charles left by his Queen only one legitimate daughter, named Mary-Elizabeth, who survived him about four years. His widow, Elizabeth of Austria, retired soon after into her father, the Emperor, Maximilian's dominions, and died in retreat, at Prague.—By his mistress, Mary Touchet, he had one son, Charles, grand Prior of France, Duke of Angoulême, and Count de Ponthieu; well known by his treasonable connections with the Duke of Biron, under Henry the fourth's reign.

There is perhaps no character in history, upon which we should decide with more caution than on that of Charles the ninth.—Educated in a corrupt and vicious court, under Catherine of Medicis's pernicious counsels, all the noble seeds of virtue and kingly greatness, with which nature endowed him, were extinguished. He was tall, robust, but stooped in his shoulders. He spoke easily and pertinently. He pretended to love learning and learned men. He was very sober. But he had two very bad qualities, which are seldom found united; he was a deep dissembler; he loved hunting immoderately, and from delighting in the blood of beasts, came to spill that of men without concern.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

REIGN OF HENRY III.

Hugonots encrease—Peace with them—Party called the Union—Fresh war with the Hugonots—Duke of Guise and his brother assassinated—The King assassinated—Circumstances of his death—His character.

HENRY, who was already King of Poland, ascended the throne in the year 1574, aged A. D.
1574. twenty-three years. Having taken possession of the Crown, he by no means answered the expectations of the people; for abandoning himself to idleness and sensuality, the administration was still in the hands of the Queen Mother, and some favourites. In the mean time the strength of the Hugonots was greatly increased by an army from Hugonots
encrease. Germany, under the Prince of Conde, and John Casimar, Count Palantine: the Duke of Alençon, brother to the King, came also over to them, and the King of Navarre made his escape from prison. All these considerations made it peace with
them. necessary for the party to negotiate a peace with them, upon more advantageous terms than any

P 3

of

A. D.

1574.

Party called
the Union.

of the former About the same time, another party, called the Union, or League, was set on foot by the Duke of Guise, who, finding himself hated by the King, but in great esteem among the Priests and People, had a mind to set up for himself. He was, besides, encouraged by the contempt the King's management had brought him into, and pretending to be descended from Charlemain, he insisted on having a better right to the Crown than Henry, whose predecessor, Hugh Capet, had unjustly excluded his family. These were the real reasons for this league; but the pretended ones were the defence of the Catholic Religion, the establishment of Henry on the throne, and the maintenance of public liberty; and all who entered into it, took a solemn oath, to be in all things obedient to the heads of it. The King, who did not see to the bottom of this affair, hoping that the Hugonots might be more easily ruined, signed it at the Assembly of Blois, in the year 1577. 1577. 1577, and declared himself its head.

Fresh war
with the
Hugonots.

A sixth war was immediately commenced against the Hugonots; but notwithstanding their affairs were in a bad state, nothing considerable happened, and peace was concluded in the same year. After this peace the King returned to his luxurious way of living, to support the expence of which, new taxes were laid on the subjects, which, with the insolence of his favourites,

favourites, increased the peoples' hatred to him; and heightened their esteem for the Duke of Guise. The Duke of Alençon, brother to the King, having about the same time taken upon himself the title of Lord of the Netherlands, Philip of Spain, in revenge, entered into the league.

A. D.
1577.

In 1579, the civil war again broke out, and another in the year 1585, both of them to the disadvantage of the Protestants, through the abilities of the Duke of Guise. The King thought him now so dangerous, that, after inviting him in a friendly manner to court, both he, and his brother the Cardinal, were by his Majesty's orders, and in a manner under his eye, basely assassinated, in 1588. The leaguers upon this declared, that Henry had forfeited his crown, and was an enemy to religion. This obliged him to throw himself into the arms of the Protestants; but while he was besieging Paris, where the leaguers had their greatest force, he was in his turn assassinated, in 1589.

1579.

1585.

D. of Guise
and his brother
assassinated.

1588.

The King
assassinated.
Circum-
stances of
his death.
His charac-
ter.

Father Daniel says, it was on the second day after that the army had taken up their quarters about Paris, that this paricide was committed by one James Clement, a young Dominican Friar, who had suffered himself to be transported to this phrenzy by the invectives of the prelates at Paris against the King; and the doctrines which were recommended from the pulpit, that it was both lawful and just to deprive

1589.

A. D.
1589.

a tyrant of his life. This was the language of the league; who upon all occasions painted Henry of Valois in the most odious colours.

Clement found means, says Daniel, to come at the King under pretence of credential letters, which he said, he had brought from the first president, De Harlay. The King having read the credential letters, and the Procureur-General and Monsieur de Clermont, who were the only persons in the closet, withdrawing to some distance upon Clement's declaring that he had something to say in private, he at that moment drew a knife out of his sleeve, and having plunged it in the King's belly, and left it there. The King crying out, drew the knife himself out of the wound, and struck the assassin on the eye with it, who was immediately knocked down, and mortally stabbed in several places by the guards, who came running in at the noise, and thrown out at the window. The whole court were in a consternation, as may be easily imagined. The surgeons were instantly called to search the wound, which was four fingers below the navel on the right side, about the length of a finger from the middle of the belly. The gut, part of which came out at the passage, was not hurt; but the pain which the King felt, in and about the wound, after it was dressed, a cold sweat which came upon him, and

and the alteration of his pulse, were strong symptoms of death.

A. D.
1589.

The moment the King of Navarre was acquainted with this alarming circumstance, he almost flew from Meudon, and threw himself upon his knees at the King's bed-side, melting in tears, and unable to speak a word. The King having caused him to rise, kissed him, and told him, that if God thought fit to take him, he left the crown of France to him, as his lawful successor. At the same time he beseeched him, to embrace the Catholic religion, otherwise his reign would be unhappy, and his possession of the crown uncertain. After which he caused all the Princes and Lords to come to him, and commanded them in case he should not recover of his wound, to acknowledge the King of Navarre for their lawful Sovereign, and immediately to swear fidelity and obedience to him, which they all did, bending the knee before that Prince.

The King having ordered every body to withdraw, applied himself wholly in preparing for death. He had already made his confession to his chaplain, who having enquired how he stood affected towards the Pope's monitory, he answered in these words: *I am the first Son of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, and desire to die so.* He expired about four o'clock in

A. D.
1589.



in the morning, on the second day of August, 1589, at the age of thirty-eight years, ten months and thirteen days; having reigned fifteen years and two months.

In him ended the branch of Anjouleme, which was a part of the house of Orleans, and of all the race of Valois; which, by a long succession of Kings, had held the sceptre of France for near two hundred and sixty years, and now made room for the family of Bourbon, in the person of Henry King of Navarre, and the fourth of that name in France.

HOUSE OF BOURBON.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

REIGN OF HENRY IV. SURNAMED THE GREAT.

Pedigree of Henry IV. — Henry raises the Siege of Paris — Battle of Dieppe — Henry is supported by England — Marches to Paris — To Mowers — State of the Kingdom — Battle of Yvry — Cardinal de Bourbon dies — Henry besieges Paris.

TO set this Monarch's descent in a clear point of view, we shall as briefly as possible trace his claim, — The successors of the Emperor Charles the Great governed the kingdom of France for many generations; from *A. D.* 814, in which that Prince died, to *A. D.* 986, when Hugh Capet seized the crown, and had his right confirmed by the Nobility, Clergy, and people of France, upon the death of Lewis V. to the prejudice of Charles, Duke of Lorrain, who was the undoubted heir of the Carlovin-gian race. Lewis IX. a direct descendant from
Hugh

A. D.
1589.

A. D.
1589.

Pedigree of
Henry IV.

Hugh Capet, and who, on account of his various expeditions against the Infidels, has obtained the surname of Saint Lewis, died *A. D.* 1270, and left two sons, Philip and Robert. The latter espoused Agnes, daughter of John III. son to Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, by the heiress of Archambault, Seigneur de Bourbon. This lordship coming thus to Robert Count de Clermont, son to Saint Lewis, in right of his wife's mother, he thereupon assumed the name of Bourbon. He was the father of Lewis the First, Duke of Bourbon. Lewis was the father of James, Count de la Mardre, who was father of John; also Count de la Mardre; John was the father of Lewis, Count de Vendosme; Lewis was the father of John, who was also Count de Vendosme; John was the father of Francis, who bore the same title; Francis was the father of Charles Duke de Vendosme, who was the father of Anthony, King of Navarre, who was the father of Henry the Fourth. He stood, therefore, in the tenth descent from Saint Lewis: so that he stood related but in the twenty-second degree to his predecessor, otherwise than by marriage.

He was in the thirty-sixth year of his age when he came to the crown. Although his right was unquestionable, yet being a Protestant, he saw very few except the Hugonots, who shewed any affection for his service; and therefore

therefore he resolved to make use of these few as soon as he could. Amongst these few the Marshal de Biron was one of the first. The King sent him to prevail upon the Swiss to take an oath of fidelity, and to remain in the army, hoping that if this example was obtained, it would be quickly followed. His hopes were anticipated; the Colonel of the Swiss had disposed them to do all that the King wished.

There was however a great murmur amongst the Catholics. At the head of these were the Sieurs Manou, d'O, d'Etragues, and some others; they were unwilling to join the new King, and more unwilling to join with the league. After much deliberation they came to the King in a body; and the sieur d'O declared, in their names, that they did not pretend to question his title, but expected and desired that he should become a Catholic. Henry changed countenance several times while he was speaking, and seemed more embarrassed than at any time of his life. He told them he was amazed that any other thoughts should enter their minds, than those of revenging the death of their slaughtered Sovereign, which entirely took up his. He told them, that to follow their advice was the worst step he could take; that the change of religion, to a man who had any, was not the work of an instant; and that he was determined to consider this point with the attention it deserved. At
this

A. D.
1589.

this instant Givry entered, and by a lively unpremeditated speech, did more than all the argument and eloquence in the world could have done: "Sire, said he, the flower of your brave nobility have resolved to put off their mourning for the late King till they have revenged him, in order to which they only wait your commands; you are the King of all the brave men in the army, and none think of abandoning you, but the poltroons." Marshal Biron, Sanci, a crowd of young nobility, all the colonels of the Swiss, came immediately and took the oath of fidelity. This circumstance had a great effect upon the Catholic Lords, who retired, drew up some propositions, mild in their nature, and modestly expressed, which the King signed on the 4th of August, and then they likewise took the oath. The Duke of Espernon, under pretence that the Marshals Biron and d'Aumont had signed before him, refused to concur, and marched off with his troops, a step which had a very bad effect. In the mean time, the leaguers gave incredible testimonies of joy for the death of the late King; but the Duke of Mayenne acted with great dignity and discretion. He rejected the proposal of those who were for proclaiming him King, as he likewise did a motion that was made to offer the Crown to Philip the Second; he contented himself with publishing a manifesto in his own name, and that of the Council

Council of the Union, exhorting the inhabitants of the cities and towns to renew the oath they had taken to live and die in the Catholic religion, and to acknowledge for their King the Cardinal of Bourbon; the King of Navarre being a heretic. He preserved by this step the protection of Spain and Savoy.

A. D.
1590.

Henry perceiving his army diminished, found it necessary to raise the siege of Paris, and to march, with the forces he had left, into Normandy. He took several small places by the way; but, in all probability, would have found it difficult to reduce Dieppe, (which was of infinite consequence to him, as it opened a communication with England, the only power in Europe, from which he could hope assistance) if the commander de Chattes, who had a good garrison in it, had not marched out, and met the King; "Sire, said he, there is not a soldier in the town; you may send what governor and what garrison into it you please; as to myself and my troops, we pretend to no other title than that of being your Majesty's faithful subjects." This event was of great consequence; and a relation of the commander's secured, in like manner, the town and citadel of Caen. In the mean time, the zealous Parisians, upon the Duke of Mayenne's suggestion, that the King's forces were dwindled to nothing in Normandy, and that, if followed thither by a good army, he must be presently undone,

Henry raises
the siege of
Paris.

A. D.
1590.



undone, furnished that Prince with men and money in abundance; and having drawn great succours from Lorraine, marched directly into Normandy with near thirty thousand men. As the King's forces were not quite seven thousand, the Duke proposed either to retake Dieppe, or to besiege the King in it; and he might have done which he pleased, if he had acted vigorously. His caution gave the King time to entrench behind the river, and under the cannon of the castle of Arques, where the Duke attacked him on the 21st of September. The leaguers had the advantage at the beginning by an action of the greatest treachery; their Lansquenets, perceiving that their countrymen defended the King's intrenchments, pretended to desert; but as soon as they were helped over, attacked the King's troops, and one of their officers made a bold attempt upon his person. At length, however, the Duke of Mayenne was defeated, with the loss of six hundred men. Soon after this victory Henry received the acceptable news that the Swiss Cantons and the Republic of Venice had acknowledged him for King of France; he received likewise four thousand foot from England. About the middle of October he made an expeditious march to Paris, and quartered his troops in sight of it on the last of that month. His appearance strangely alarmed the inhabitants, who had let their windows that looked on the street of St.

Battle at
Dieppe.

Henry is
supported by
England.

Marches to
Paris.

Anthony,

Anthony, to those who promised themselves the pleasure of seeing the Bearnois led in triumph, and had just received an authentic account of his being totally defeated at Arques, with twenty of the royal standards, supposed to be taken, but really made for that purpose. On the 1st of November the King insulted three of the suburbs, in which the leaguers lost thirteen hundred men, fourteen ensigns, and thirty pieces of cannon. If the King's artillery could have been brought up in time, or if the Duke of Mayenne had not entered with his army, the place would have been carried by storm. The people hanged two or three of their own townsmen, who were royalists; and the King, in return, hanged up one of the sixteen, who were prisoners of war. On the 21st of November, Henry made his public entry into Tours; and the same day the Duke of Mayenne proclaimed Charles the Tenth (Cardinal of Bourbon), with great solemnity. Nevertheless, most of the furious clergy were for declaring the King of Spain protector of the League: the Duke engaged them to defer it till the arrival of the Pope's legate; and, upon finding him in the Spanish interest, he proposed declaring the Pope protector, a proposal which the clergy joined: the legate was forced to approve. He then declared, that, as he governed by the royal authority (though his king was close prisoner in Fontenai le Comte, in Poitou), he would appoint a privy council, and dissolve that of the

Vol. III. Q union,

A. D.
1590.

Entry into
Tours.

A. D.
1590.

union, which had the air of a republic; and, to strengthen himself still farther, he took the seals from Montholon, who, since the late King's death, had refused to act, and gave them to the Archbishop of Lyons. Some of the great cities and some of the parliaments declared for the King, some adhered to the League, and some affected to remain neuter. Under this pretence, Marshal Matignon held Bourdeaux; by which means he did the King more service than if he had declared for him. The Duke of Espernon, though he affected a kind of independence, and had a better army than the King's, acted with spirit and success against the League, though he made no steps to be reconciled to the King, for fear he should borrow his money. The Duke of Savoy demanded from the parliament of Grenoble, the title of King of France; and being denied that, would have accepted the kingdom of Arles; but La Valette, Espernon's elder brother, prevented his getting either the title or the dominions, sacrificing his troops, his money, and at length his life, in the King's service.

On the contrary, the Duke of Mayenne made himself master of Pontoise, and afterwards besieged Meulan, to the relief of which the King marched in person with a small force. The Duke retired; but, as soon as the King was gone, he besieged the place a second time, though without effect. The King relieved it a second time; and

the Duke, to avoid a battle, retired. The King, who had now a superiority, besieged Dreux; but the Prince of Parma having sent Count Egmont with a potent succour of the best troops in his army, the Duke of Mayenne marched with upwards of sixteen thousand men to relieve the place. In his passage the King met him at Yvry with his forces, which were not above twelve thousand men: the Duke had no intention to engage; but he could not avoid it. The battle was fought on the 14th of March. The King's speech is worth inserting:—"Children," said he to his soldiers, "if you should at any time lose sight of your colours, look about for this, pointing to the white feather in his hat; you'll find it in the way to victory and honour. God is with us." He exposed himself extremely, was present when the Count of Egmont was killed, and his Walloon horse broke. The Duke of Mayenne was entirely routed, lost his baggage, his artillery, and, indeed, every thing he had to lose. At the close of the engagement there was a great square column of Swiss troops, to whom some French infantry joined themselves; and, though surrounded by the King's troops, remained firm. Henry sent them a kind message, that he should be sorry to put so many brave men to the sword, and that their safety depended upon themselves; upon which they threw down their arms, and entered into his service. About two thousand five hundred were killed; but the loss of the Leaguers,

A. D.
1590.Battle of
Yvry.

A. D.
1590.

one way or other, was equal to that of the King's whole army. Marshal Biron, who commanded the reserve, never fought at all; and yet he was the great author of the victory; for he presented his troops so opportunely, wherever the enemy began to press, that he obliged them to retire in confusion. After the victory, he made the King a compliment, that showed he was as great a courtier as a captain. "Sire," said he, "you acted the part of Marshal Biron to-day, and acted it well; while I, for my part, performed that of the King." The Duke of Mayenne, who would have been totally lost if he had not persuaded the people of Mante that the King was killed, and thereby obtained a passage over the Seine, endeavoured to retard the motion of the victorious army by a negociation; and the King was content to be amused, because he could not move for want of money; however, in the month of May, he completely blocked up Paris.

Cardinal de
Bourbon
dies.

On the 8th day of May, the Cardinal de Bourbon died in his prison, of a retention of urine, at the age of sixty-seven. He was very sensible that his royalty was a farce; and, after the death of Henry the Third, made use of the phrase, *the king my nephew*, indefinitely, but would never call him King of Navarre. The Leaguers continued to coin their money with his effigies for five years after, and procured a decree of the Sorbonne, fortified by an *arrêt* of their parliament, against the title of Henry of Bourbon. The legate formed a
regiment

regiment of ecclesiastics, consisting of thirteen hundred men, and had his secretary killed by his side at his first review. The inhabitants of Paris suffered prodigiously by famine; and, notwithstanding their solemn oaths to the contrary, were at last forced to treat. The King might certainly have been master of his capital, if he had refused a passage to the old men, women, and children, whom the governor, the Duke of Nemours, turned out. He was reproached for his ill-timed tenderness by some of his officers; but he was one of those princes who would rather have borne all the reproaches in the world than those of his own heart.

A. D.
1590.

Henry besieges Paris.

The Catholic King ordered the Prince of Parma to march with his army to the relief of Paris; and he conducted his design so well, that, at the close of the month of August, the king was constrained to raise his blockade, when the place was at the very point of falling into his hands. He met with several other mortifications: the Duke of Savoy took Frejus and Antibes, and was received in triumph at Aix, under the title of Protector of Provence. This turn of fortune induced some to quit the King's party, and go over to the league, while others pretended discontent on the score of religion; but the worst of all was the want of money; sometimes to such a degree, that the King was forced to go, under colour of a visit, to other people's quarters, for want of a dinner at his own.

Paris relieved.

A. D.
1591.



1591.

Again at-
tacked.

Another misfortune was, the death of Pope Sixtus the Fifth, at a time when he was at the point of breaking with the Spaniards, and making an attempt on the kingdom of Naples. He was succeeded by Urban the Seventh, who sat but a little time, and then made room for Gregory the Fourteenth, a subject of the King of Spain, the most determined enemy the King ever had. Before the close of the year, Henry made an attempt to surprise Paris, and would have succeeded, but that a jesuit, a lawyer, and a bookseller, being upon duty, overheard the troops that were about to scale the wall, shot the first person who attempted to enter, after he had mounted the ladder, and, by giving the alarm, obliged the King's forces to desist.

The reduction of Paris being his principal object, the King was not to be discouraged. On the 20th of January he sent several waggons laden with corn, attended by sixty determined officers, in the disguise of peasants, to seize the gate of St. Honoré, not knowing the Leaguers had caused it to be walled up; so that, though admirably conducted, this design, styled, in French, *journée de farines*, also miscarried. The Pope, being entirely in the hands of the Spanish faction, declared Henry a heretic relapsed, a persecutor of the church, and, as such, excommunicated, fallen from his dignities, and even from his patrimonial estates, requiring all ecclesiastics to quit his party, on pain of losing their dignities and benefices, and laics also, under the highest

Henry is
excommu-
nicated by
the Pope.

highest penalties; a sentence which produced a great deal of confusion. However, the King having received a considerable sum of money, and a great quantity of ammunition, from the Queen of England, recovered several places in Normandy. By the advice of the Chancellor Chiverny, to whom he had restored the seals, he besieged Chartres, and took it, with great difficulty. Not long after this transaction, a place of consequence being surprised in Normandy, the Bishop of Evreux, a violent leaguer, was taken prisoner. There was found upon him a treatise he had written to justify the murder of Henry the Third, and to prove the lawfulness of treating his successor in the same way. Upon his refusing to retract these treasonable and atheistical opinions, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The parliament of Chalons declared all the Pope's bulls and rescripts against both kings null, abusive, and seditious; ordered them to be burnt by the common hangman, and offered a reward for apprehending the Pope's nuncio. On the 4th of July, the King published an edict at Mante, by which he revoked those extorted from his predecessor by the Leaguers, and established liberty of conscience throughout his dominions. In the month of August he took Nojon, in the sight of the Duke of Mayenne, and received the acceptable news that the Viscount de Turenne had levied sixteen thousand men for his service in divers parts of Germany.

A. D.
1591.
Assisted by
England.

A. D.
1591.

While Henry was employed in recruiting and augmenting his army, he was informed of the escape of the young Duke of Guise from the castle of Tours; on which all he said was, "The more enemies we have, the more pains we must take, and the more honour it will be to defeat them." It was not long before he heard of another competitor, never thought of by himself or any body else, which was Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon, son to Lewis, Prince of Condé, who pretended that he was the nearest Catholic of the house of Bourbon. As for Paris, those who had the power there, declared for the Duke of Guise, under the protection of the crown of Spain. The King was quickly apprised of this circumstance; and, being so fortunate as to seize their agent, with their instructions, sent them to the Duke of Mayenne, that he might see to what sort of people he was become the tool. He likewise consented that the Duke should send president Janin into Spain, to discover the true sentiments of Philip the Second. He knew the president to be a very honest man; and he made no doubt of his being disgusted at the Spanish Court. He was not mistaken; for the president found Philip the Second so secure of being master of France, that, in speaking to him, he always said, "My town of Paris." He likewise heard of a queen of France, and a new king too, in her right: this was the Infanta, to whom, in the opinion of her father, the crown belonged, as the nearest

nearest relation of the late King, and he was content to give both her and it to the Archduke Ernest. The King having assembled an army of thirty-five thousand men, formed the siege of Rouen. But although he had received the assistance of a great body of English troops, under the command of the Earl of Essex, and was on the very point of taking Rouen, yet he found himself obliged to raise the siege, by the arrival of the Prince of Parma with a Spanish army, who in this enterprize, as in the relief of Paris, performed what he came to do, and then marched back again into the Low Countries, without suffering Henry to force himself to a battle. This was one of the greatest disappointments the King ever met with. However, he was in some measure consoled by the death of Pope Gregory the Fourteenth, who gave a monthly subsidy to the Leaguers, and actually sent a body of troops to their assistance, though they proved of little service. His successor, Innocent the Ninth, who trod in his steps, followed him also into another world; and the Duke of Savoy was soundly beaten by La Vallette, notwithstanding he had added Marseilles to the places he had purloined from the Crown of France. The King had likewise the satisfaction of knowing that his own party in Paris was increasing every day, and was at least equal to the Spanish faction.

A. D.
1592.Siege of
Rouen.

Siege raised.

The

A. D.

1592.

The Dutch
assist Henry.Siege of
Rouen re-
commenced.

The King having made an alliance with the new Republic of Holland, the Dutch sent, in the beginning of the year, a fleet of forty-five sail, with a succour of three thousand men on board, which was very acceptable to the King, who began to be more and more perplexed with the siege of Rouen. He had before it a much better army than he had ever commanded, falling very little, if at all, short of forty thousand men; but the place was very gallantly defended by Andrew Brancas du Villars, one of the bravest men, and by some esteemed the best officer in the service of the League. The army of the Dukes, that is, of Parma and Mayenne, did not consist of above twenty-four thousand men, had a long march to make, and through a country that would have embarrassed any other commander than the Duke of Parma. He marched continually in order of battle, his cavalry in the centre, his infantry on the wings, with a thousand waggons in three lines on each flank, his artillery in the rear. He himself, in an open carriage, unarmed, and at his ease, as if it had been no more than a journey of pleasure, received intelligence, and gave his orders without emotion. The King, not being able to credit the news he heard, and being desirous to see with his own eyes how these succours were conducted, advanced with a great corps of horse towards the confederates, leaving Marshal Biron to command the siege. At Aumale he fell in with
their

A. D.
1592.

their van-guard, attacked and defeated some of the advanced corps, but quickly found himself obliged to make as quick a retreat as possible. It is allowed that he shewed great vivacity in this attack, much intrepidity in the time of greatest danger, and great conduct in retiring, wounded as he was in the reins. But it is said, the prudence of the Duke of Nevers, who foresaw his danger, and advanced with a great body of troops to favour his retreat, prevented his being killed or made prisoner. His address was commended by the Duke of Parma; his whole conduct severely censured by Marshal Biron, who asked him, when he intended to act like a king, instead of a captain of light-horse? The Dukes took Neufchatel; and, during the King's absence, Villars made a sally, with so much spirit and success, that he scarce thought he stood in need of succours. The Duke of Parma, after having thrown relief into Rouen, in the beginning of March, separated his army, as if he had thought all over; but the King, having put his affairs in better order, pressed Rouen so warmly, that Villars sent to inform the Dukes, that, unless he was effectually succoured, he would surrender in a week. The Duke of Parma suddenly assembled his forces, and appeared before the King's quarters the 20th of April. Henry, apprehending that his whole army might be destroyed, in case he was attacked by the Dukes and the garrison at the same time,

raised

A. D.
1592.
Again
raised.

raised the siege, after it had continued five months. The Duke of Parma would then have given battle, but the Duke of Mayenne, who had been always defeated, doubted of that measure, till it was too late. The Confederates then besieged Caudebec, where the Duke of Parma had his arm shattered. In the end, however, the place was taken. By this time the King had received such reinforcements, that he began to press the Dukes in his turn; and Marshal Biron having carried one of their quarters, his son demanded six thousand horse and foot, affirming that, with so small a force, he would undertake to ruin their whole army: to this declaration his father answered, "I believe you may; but then the war will be at end, and we shall be sent to plant cabbages at Biron." The King, notwithstanding, took such measures, that the Duke of Parma was entirely blocked up, having the King's army on every side, and the Seine a league broad at his back. In this situation, the Duke of Parma, in half a day, caused two forts to be erected on the opposite banks of the river; and, in a dark night, having assembled a great number of boats, which he covered in haste with planks and beams, he passed first his artillery, then his baggage and army; so that, by the time the King was well apprised of his scheme, the army was on the other side, and their retreat so well covered by the fort and redoubts, that the royal army were little more than spectators. The Duke of Parma was

A. D.

1592.

so well pleased with this escape, that he is said to have sent a trumpet, to ask King Henry, what he thought of that retreat? The King was so much out of humour, that he could not help saying, he had no skill in retreat; and that, in his opinion, the best retreat in the world was little better than a flight. The Dukes continued their march with such expedition, that in four days they reached Charenton, above Paris, from whence the Duke of Parma returned, at his leisure, to the Low Countries, and took Espèrnai in his route. In the mean time both parties negotiated in private; the King being desirous to conclude a treaty with the Duke of Mayenne, and the Spaniards not averse to sell a peace, upon high terms, to the King, to whom they offered to quit the party of the League, provided he would resign to the Crown of Spain the Duchies of Bretagne and Burgundy.

Affairs went on but indifferently for the King elsewhere: the Princes of Conti and Dombes besieged Craons, on the frontiers of Anjou, to the relief of which the Duke of Mercœur marched with all his forces, and had the good fortune to defeat their army totally. This victory revived the hopes of the League; upon which the King sent Marshal d'Aumont to command in Bretagne, and the Prince of Dombes, now become Duke of Montpensier, by the death of his father, into Normandy, where the King, having retaken Caudebec, and

A. D.
1592.



and fortified the village of Quillebœuf, which the Duke of Mayenne besieged in vain, kept Rouen still blocked up. Henry resolved next to recover Espernai, which he compassed with little difficulty; but the old Marshal de Biron, going to view the place, lost his head by a cannon ball. The King owed him certainly great obligations, and yet it is believed he was not much regretted; for, finding he was not to be governor of Rouen, he suffered the siege to miscarry, and had prevented his son from ruining the army of the Duke of Parma. He was a man of letters, very polite, and had a vast capacity; but he had two great defects—he loved wine, and he loved money. The Leaguers commonly said that they could have him at any time, if they had money enough to make the purchase. After the taking of Espernai, the King dismissed the German troops, under the command of the Prince of Anhalt, gave them all the money he was able to raise, and strong assurances of having the rest of what was due to them: they were conducted back into their own country by the Viscount de Turenne, now become Duke of Bouillon, by the marriage of the heiress of the family of La Marck, which he owed to the King's favour, guided by his interest. It was of great consequence to have the principalities of Bouillon and Sedan in the hands of a friend: the sons of the two Dukes of Lorraine and Nevers had pretensions to that Princess; the former was the King's declared enemy,

and

A. D.
1592.

and his competitor, and he had not an entire confidence in the other. He was assiduous, therefore, to procure that heiress for the Viscount de Turenne; and, soon after his marriage he declared him Marshal of France. At his return from conducting the German troops, he paid the King for his *bâton* by relieving Beaumont, where he defeated the Marshal of Lorraine, killed him, with seven hundred men, and took all his baggage and artillery. The King made him a present of the latter, reserving one piece only, to put him in mind of the service. In Languedoc the Duke the Joyeuse, who commanded for the League, was entirely defeated by Themmes, who killed two thousand men, took all their baggage and artillery, with twenty-two ensigns, and the Duke himself was drowned in his flight. The Duke of Savoy was defeated by Lesdiguières, who followed him over the mountains, and made excursions to the very gates of Turin. The Duke of Espèron, become governor of Provence by the death of his brother La Vallette, recovered Antibes; and the Spaniards were defeated in their enterprise upon Bayonne.

Affairs were now arrived at a crisis, in respect as well as to the League as the King. With regard to the latter, the Catholics of his party gave him clearly to understand, that though hitherto they had shewn so much complaisance as to take in good part his apologies on the head of religion, it was absolutely

A. D.
1592.

absolutely necessary that he should now explain himself directly; a remonstrance which the King took in good part; and though he did not immediately comply with their request, yet he gave them reason to be content, by a candid explanation of the motives which had induced him to act so indecisively, in a point of such importance. On the other hand, the Duke of Parma, supporting the bigoted Catholics, had compelled the Duke of Mayenne to come into a measure which hitherto he had assiduously avoided; this was calling a general assembly of the States, in order to elect a King. The Spaniards were desirous that they should meet either at Soissons or at Rheims, because nearer to the frontiers of the Low Countries, and consequently more convenient for the Duke of Parma, who, on the part of his master, was to assist at this assembly: but though the Duke of Mayenne, who had hitherto resisted all attempts of this sort, found himself under the necessity of submitting, yet he remained firm as to the place, and would have it at Paris: for knowing well that, under colour of supporting the resolutions taken by the States, the Duke was preparing to bring an army with him, he was very apprehensive of his seizing either of those places. He carried his points so far; but it is highly probable he would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to preserve his influence, if that Prince had actually come a third time into France; but, while he was assembling

A. D.

1593

assembling his forces at Arras, death put an end to his fatigues, and, so far as they regarded him, to the perplexities of the Duke of Mayenne, whom as he most hated, of consequence he most feared.

Although the Duke of Mayenne did not want courage, yet he was much better qualified to extricate himself out of this dilemma, than to contend with his enemies in the field: for the caution which had been so fatal to him in war, was very favourable to him in negotiation. The edict he published for calling the States was dated on the 5th of January, penned with great elegance and gravity, as well as with the utmost art and circumspection. In it he justified his own conduct, defended the title of Charles the Tenth, reproached Henry of Navarre with his obstinate adherence to heresy; but in a manner that did not please the violent Leaguers, or much displease the King; appointing the 17th of the same month for their meeting, and inviting the Catholics in general to assist in settling the kingdom. The Cardinal Legate likewise published a kind of mandate, filled with bitterness and passion, plainly expressing the intent of this meeting, of those he called the States, to be to proceed to the election of a King. The States did not meet till the 26th of January, when the Duke opened the assembly with a florid speech, in which he laid open the distress of the kingdom, and the necessity of having a King capable of restoring order. The first sessions were spent in the

Meeting of the States, in the Great Hall of the Louvre; and the consequences.

A. D.

1593.

usual ceremonies ; in the second, they came to the point. The Cardinal Legate moved, that, in the first place, the States should bind themselves by an oath never to admit of a reconciliation with the King of Navarre, even if he embraced the Catholic religion : he was seconded by the whole Spanish faction. The Duke, who knew the importance of the debate, spoke vehemently and plainly against it, with the applause of the greatest part of the assembly. The Archbishop of Lyons, with great dexterity, defeated the Legate at his own weapons, by showing that, if they came to such a resolution, they should bind the hands of the Pope, which it was indecent to attempt, and not in their power to effect. Before the next sessions, a trumpet from the King brought a paper, intitled, “ Propositions of the Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, &c.” addressed to the Count de Belin, in quality of Governor of Paris, demanding a conference, to be managed by deputies on both sides, in some place between Paris and St. Denis. The Spanish faction were for stifling this paper ; but the Duke of Mayenne sent it to the States, advising them however to defer deliberating upon it, till his return from his journey to meet the Duke of Feria, whom the King of Spain had sent to make his propositions to the States.

These two Dukes met and quarrelled at Soissons. The Duke of Feria was for repealing the Salique law at once, and to declare the Infanta Queen of France.

A. D.
1593.

France. The Duke of Mayenne told him that it was impossible, and that he could not persuade the deputies to come into any such propositions, more especially considering the Spanish army under Count Mansfield consisted but of five thousand men; and their pecuniary supplies were in the same proportion. The Duke of Feria urged, that, when the thing was done, the King would march fifty-thousand foot and ten thousand horse in support of his daughter's title, and would set open the floodgates of his treasuries in favour of her adherents. The Duke of Mayenne replied, that kingdoms were to be conquered by armies, or to be bought with money, and that to offer only promises was doing nothing. Feria told him, haughtily, that he was better instructed as to the temper of the deputies, and that they would do it without him. Mayenne, more haughtily, replied, that all the world could not do it without him; but that, in eight days, he could reconcile all the different interests in the kingdom, and then drive the Spaniards, and all their adherents, out of France. The Spanish Ministers soon taught the Duke of Feria another language; and, by their assistance, all things were reconciled. The Duke of Mayenne was offered, in case he procured the election of the Infanta, the duchy of Burgundy in sovereignty, the government of Picardy for life, the title and authority of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom under the new Queen, the payment of all his debts,

A. D.
1593.

twenty-five thousand crowns in hard money, security for two hundred thousand more, and the absolute command of the Spanish troops. He seemed to acquiesce in these offers; and the two Dukes, as good friends, returned to Paris together.

Every mark of respect was paid to the Duke of Feria, on his appearance in the Assembly; but he quickly found that his own influence was much inferior to what he expected, and that of the Duke of Mayenne much stronger than he could have imagined: of this truth, the most convincing proof appeared in the resolution taken to consent to the conferences proposed on the part of the Catholics in the King's service. They were opened accordingly on the 29th of April, at Surenne, the Archbishop of Bourges being at the head of the King's Commissioners, as the Archbishop of Lyons presided among those of the League. While these conferences continued, the King thought himself at liberty to form the siege of Dreux; and while he was thus employed, the Duke of Feria was not idle at Paris. He observed that the faction of Paris were provoked at the hopes given of the King's becoming a Catholic. He misinterpreted this disgust, as flowing from a blind devotion to the Court of Spain; and thereupon roundly proposed to the States, that they should declare the Infanta Queen, and the Archduke Albert of Austria King in her right, to whom her father was inclined to give her in marriage, but this was strongly opposed. The

A. D.

1593.

Duke of Feria then proposed the Infanta, on condition that she should espouse a Prince of France, including the House of Lorrain, the choice of that Prince to be left to his Catholic Majesty. This project occasioned debates and delays; and, in the mean-time, they received a stroke from a quarter which they little expected; the Parliament, by an arrêt, dated the 18th of June, declared against any treaty for transferring the crown to strangers, as contrary to the Salique law, and to the fundamental principles of the government. The Duke of Mayenne affected to be displeased with the first president, Le Maître, though it was generally believed that he was not so angry as he pretended to be. The Duke of Feria then proposed declaring the Infanta Queen, upon an assurance that she should marry the Duke of Guise. If he had made this proposal first, he might have carried his point; but now the Duke of Mayenne scrupled his powers; and the Duke of Guise, who foresaw that his fortune was for ever ruined if he manifested an inclination in favour of this overture, and be defeated in his hopes, behaved with great coolness and prudence. But, while they were thus perplexed at Paris, the King took this resolution, heard mass on the 28th of July at St. Denis, and received absolution from the Archbishop of Bourges; in consequence of which step a truce was proclaimed for three months, to commence from the 1st of August. All the principal

The King
assumes the
Catholic religion.

A. D.
1593.

persons of the League were extremely offended at this measure. Several of their preachers declared from the pulpit, that no credit ought to be given to the story of the King's conversion, although an angel from heaven were to declare it.

CHAPTER XL.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY IV.

Plot to assassinate the King—Successes of the King's party—Meaux declares for the King—French affairs at Rome—Many places declare for the King—Duke de Mayenne leaves Paris—The King and his army enter Paris—A multitude of other places declare for the King—Henry intends to attack the Spanish Netherlands—An attempt to assassinate the King—Henry declares war against Spain—Treaty with the Duke of Mayenne—Story of Ramee—The Archduke Albert invades France—Amiens taken—Henry desponding—Relieved by Rhosney—Siege of Amiens—Gallant conduct of the Duke of Mayenne—Henry's affairs changed for the better—Bretagne taken by the King—Edict of Nantes—Peace with Spain and with Tuscany—Character of Baron de Rhosney—Henry's sister married to the Duke of Bar—Edict of Nantes registered—Henry wishes to marry the Duchess of Beaufort—Henry obtains a divorce—The Duke of Savoy goes to Paris—Returns to Turin—Unites with Spain—Is attacked by Henry, and loses many places—Henry marries Mary of Medicis—Makes peace with the Duke of Savoy—

Savoy—Messages between Henry and Elizabeth, from Calais to Dover—Birth of the Dauphin—Ambassador from Turkey—Conduct of Marshal Biron—Embarrassments of the King—The King's suspicions of Marshal Biron—Biron sent to the Bastille—His trial and execution.

A. D.

1593.

BY the King's change of his religion, the violent part of the Leaguers were in a critical situation. The pretence of religion for the plea of insurrection being now done away, they thought it high time to have recourse to their great expedient, to the success of which some of their best preachers devoted their oratory: neither was it without effect; for Pierre Barrier, a waterman on the Loire, who had been also a soldier in their service, moved by the exhortations of those whom he took to be religious men, formed in his own mind a strong resolution to kill the King, which he communicated to, and was encouraged in by, several ecclesiastics, particularly one of the parish priests at Paris. The last person he consulted was a Dominican friar at Lyons; this man directed him to come again the next day, at a certain hour, at which time he appointed also Brancaleon, a gentleman belonging to the Queen-Dowager, whom he directed to take great notice of that man, and to make all the haste he could to Court, in order to apprise the King of his danger. Brancaleon went to Meulan, where the King was; and seeing the fellow, soon after, in the street,

Plot to assassinate the King.

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caused

A. D.
1593.

caused him to be apprehended. He confessed his intention ; named the persons who had encouraged and exhorted him to fulfil it ; and added, that, in case he was taken up, he was advised to throw the blame on the Count of Soissons, as the person who first put it in his head. The Count being present at this examination, and the man having no knowledge of him, it plainly appeared that this was only an artifice to help out one villainy by another. Barrier was executed as a traitor on the last of August.

Successes
of the King's
party.

Henry's troops were still successful against the Duke of Savoy, and likewise so fortunate as to disperse three thousand Spaniards on the frontiers, and to destroy the greatest part of them. In Languedoc all things were so prudently conducted by the Marshal de Montmorency, that the King, as the only suitable reward of his services, conferred on him the office of Constable of France. He also permitted an assembly of the Reformed, received from them a long memoir, and gave them all the satisfaction in his power.

The affairs of Paris were chiefly governed by secret negotiations between the King and the Duke of Mayenne; managed by the old Secretary Villeroi and the President Jeannin, both friends to the King. But the Duke had other views than those with which he intrusted them; he had procured the States to renew the oath of union, and to establish the Council of Trent without

A. D.
1593.

out restriction: but one of the deputies of the third estate desired that a clause might be added, declaring that this was only so far to be regarded as should be consistent with the liberties of the Gallican church, which appeared so reasonable, that it could not be refused, and which in effect repealed all the rest. The King was not very well pleased with these proceedings, and much less when he detected him in fresh negotiations with the Spaniards, who were to furnish him with twelve thousand foot and six thousand horse. The truth of the matter was, he delighted in his own authority, and studied, by every means in the world, to maintain it. He was jealous of his brother by the mother's side, the Duke of Nemours, who had formed a design of marrying the Infanta, but had taken a firm resolution to render himself independent in the city of Lyons, and in the country adjacent; with which view he had directed a couple of fortresses, for bridling that city. The Duke of Mayenne, suspecting this design, had no sooner concluded a truce with the King, than he sent the famous Dr. Peter Espinac, archbishop of Lyons, into his diocese, who so wrought upon the minds of the people, that they practised upon Nemours the old device of the barricades; and, having first confined him in his house, transferred him from thence to Pierre Encise, where they kept him in prison. The Duke of Mayenne was more excusable for this conduct than for treating afresh with
the

A. D.

1593.



the Court of Madrid for the marriage of his own son with the Infanta: upon which he promised to reassemble the States, now tacitly dissolved, and to proceed to an immediate election. The King, being well informed of all this scheme, as well as with the conduct of his agent at the Court of Rome, represented it in such strong terms to Monsieur de Villeroi, that, to justify the uprightness of his own conduct, he soon after quitted the Duke of Mayenne, and retired, with all his family, to Pontois, of which his son was governor. He was, at this time, reputed one of the ablest men in France.

It was now five months since the King's first going openly to mass; and not so much as a single place, of any consequence, had declared in his favour; a circumstance more extraordinary, as persons of distinction, from all the adjacent places, had been to see, and pay their respects to him, as their sovereign. In the quarters of the League they began to drop the epithet of Navarre, and to call him simply The king. This behaviour was owing to three causes: some were for making terms, and selling loyalty as dear as they could; many expected the Pope's decision, as to the validity of the King's absolution; and not a few hoped that the Duke of Mayenne would put a speedy and effectual end to the troubles, by making a general peace. At length an event happened, which contributed not a little to draw the inhabitants of France out

out of their lethargy. Lewis de l'Hospital, Marquis of Vitri, was the only man of rank who followed the example of the Duke of Espernon, in quitting the King on the death of his predecessor; but he went farther than the Duke, for he entered into the service of the League; by which he was made governor of Meaux. He had often solicited the Duke of Mayenne, as the cause of the war was at an end, to make his peace with the King; but, receiving no satisfaction from the Duke, he resolved to follow the dictates of his conscience. On Christmas-eve he ordered his garrison to evacuate the town; and, having assembled the magistrates, he delivered them the keys. "Gentlemen," said he, "I scorn to steal a place, or to make a fortune at other men's expence. I am going to pay my duty to the King; and I leave it in your power to act as you please." After he had quitted the room, the magistrates, on a short deliberation, broke up their assembly, and, as they went forth, exclaimed, *Vive le Roi!* The people soon caught the acclamation; and the next day, being Sunday, they posted a guard on the Marchioness of Estrées and her children, till they sent a deputation to the King to make their submission, and to desire that he would send back their governor. At their audience the deputies were so confounded, that they could say nothing; only they threw themselves at the King's feet. Henry having considered them for a moment, burst into tears; then raising them up,

A. D.

1593.

Meaux declares for the King.

A. D.
1593.

up, "Do not come as enemies to, ask pardon, but as children to a father, who is always ready to receive them with open arms." At their request he sent back the Marquis de Vitri. This reception affected the League more than the greatest defeat could have done. The King, having lost all opinion of the Duke of Mayenne's sincerity, at the close of the year declared the truce totally void.

French af-
fairs at
Rome.

Here it may not be improper to take a short view of the conduct of the Court of Rome. Henry was very desirous of conciliating the Pope; and for this purpose he sent ambassadors to Rome: but the Pope would not suffer them to enter the ecclesiastical territory. However, upon further application being made, the Pope at length received the Duke of Nevers, as a French nobleman; but not as the ambassador of a heretic prince; and though, at one of his audiences, he fell at the Pope's feet, and besought him to put an end to the miseries of France, with an effusion of tears, yet it was to no purpose. The Pope was moved, but not softened; but the Duke of Nevers, by changing his language, made more impression. He represented to Clement VIII. that he had been abused by the Spaniards, and deceived by his legate; that the League was declining; that the Spaniards were not able to support it; that Henry was already master of two thirds of the kingdom; and that, as the greatest part of the nobility adhered to him, there

was

was no doubt of his conquering the rest. This was to the point: the Pope now began to see sincerity in the King's conversion; and, though he did not immediately alter his behaviour, yet he gave the Duke to understand, that he need not regard it; and that, though he treated him like a dog, and his master as a relapsed excommunicated heretic, yet, all in good time, that is, in proportion as the King's affairs mended, they might both hope for better usage. The Pope, no doubt, was piously inclined to abandon the French rebels, whenever it was manifest that they could no longer support themselves.

A. D.
1593.

In consequence of the affection shewn by the city of Meaux, the King resolved to go there in the beginning of the year 1694: and he did for the people of that city all they could possibly expect, confirmed all the magistrates in their posts, remitted their taxes for nine years, and not only confirmed the government of the Marquis de Vitri, but granted the reversion to his son, without burdening them with any greater garrison than their governor's troop of gens-d'arms. The Marquis de Vitri published a manifesto to justify his own conduct, addressed to the nobility and gentry of France. The magistrates of Meaux did the like, addressing their discourses to the inhabitants of Paris. The garrison of St. Denis surprised Cha-
renton; the King reduced l'Ferti Milon: so that
Paris was again in a manner blocked up; and its
inhabitants

1594.

Many places
declare for
the King.

A. D.
1594.

inhabitants were every day alarmed with unwelcome news. The people of Lyons, having intelligence that the Spaniards intended to march a body of troops to secure their city, revolted, and declared for the King, to the no small grief of their archbishop; not that he was much offended at the change, but that he missed the credit of making it; and thereby the opportunity of securing, at a proper time, the King's recommendation for a cardinal's hat, his passionate desire of which had been one principal cause of the troubles. The Sieur de la Chastre, entrusted with the government of the provinces of Orleanois and Berri, after having applied in vain to the Duke of Mayenne, thought it high time to make peace for himself; and having explained his sentiments to the magistrates of Orleans, they very readily concurred with him; so that, in the middle of February, all these provinces were detached from the League. The King confirmed La Chastre in his government, and in his dignity of Marshal of France. He was one of the four created by the Duke of Mayenne, at the opening of the States; upon which M. Chanvalon, a friend of his, said pleasantly to the Duke, "You are begetting bastards, who will legitimate themselves at your expence. By the advice of his father, the Sieur de Villeroi, who retired for that purpose to Pontoise, Monsieur d'Alincourt delivered up that important place to the King. Henry was now intent upon the ceremony of his coronation, which, he resolved,

A. D.

1594-

resolved, should be performed at Chartres, Rheims being still in the hands of the League. It was performed, with great solemnity, on Sunday the 27th of February, by Nicholas de Thou, assisted by five other prelates, who represented the ecclesiastical peers, as the Prince of Conti, the Count of Soissons, the Duke de Montpensier, the Dukes of Luxemburgh, Rhetz, and Ventatour, held the places of the ancient lay peers. As some scruple was raised about the holy oil, the King sent for that of St. Martin, kept in the Abbey of Marmoutier, at Tours, which satisfied the people full as well. The Cardinal Legate, either out of zeal for the League, or pressed to it by his friends, published a letter, addressed to all good Catholics, in which he assured them, that the Pope had not acknowledged the Duke of Nevers as ambassador of France, and was resolved never to give absolution to the King. From this letter great effects were expected, and much greater followed, but of a very different kind than those which the Legate intended; for, as there were no reasons assigned, it was considered merely as an artifice of the Spaniards to perpetuate the war: upon which, numbers of gentlemen quitted the quarters of the League, and retired into those of the King.

The situation of the Duke of Mayenne became every day more critical. This made him listen, more than ever, to the proposals of the Court of Spain; of which circumstance the King had authentic proofs.

A. D.
1594.

Duke de
Mayenne
leaves Paris.

proofs. This conduct lost that Duke many of his old friends in Paris, and gained him very few new adherents. The King's party abhorred his falsehood; and he was still suspected by the Spaniards. At length, not knowing well which way to turn, he retired with his family to Soissons, leaving the government of Paris, and the command of the French garrison (for there was also a Spanish garrison in Paris), to the Count de Brisac, from whom he exacted the strongest securities that words could give, that he would use all imaginable care to preserve the place. The Count de Brisac, when he came to examine things to the bottom, conceived his task to be altogether impracticable, there being, by this time, a great majority of the best families entirely devoted to the King; so that, to avoid being borne down, some time or other, by the torrent, he held it best to go along with the stream. In order to communicate with the King safely, he pretended to refer a family difference, with his brother-in-law St. Luc, to some persons of distinction in the law: upon which they met at the Abbey of St. Anthony, where they privately settled every thing: and the 22d of March was the day fixed upon for admitting the King's army into Paris. The Duke of Feria and Don Diego d'Ibarra had some intelligence, with strong suspicions; upon which they sent for the Count of Brisac. He told them he believed there was nothing in it; but, for their satisfaction, he would

go the rounds that night in person. He did so at two o'clock, taking with him some Spanish captains, who had orders, from the Duke of Feria, upon the least commotion, to dispatch the Count. Out of pure complaisance he attended them back to their quarters, where, between jest and earnest, he rallied the Duke of Feria upon his being too easily alarmed; but, when he retired, he gave orders to the next French guard to fire upon the Spaniards, if they offered to stir. The King's troops were introduced without noise; and by five o'clock the King himself entered at the new gate, with the *corps de réserve*, commanded by the Duke of Rhetz. He was met by the Count de Brisac, who threw over his shoulders a fine embroidered scarf: the King gave him his own in exchange, embraced, and declared him Marshal of France. The whole was performed with very little stir. A corps of Lanquenets, consisting of about sixty men, who refused to cry *Vive le Roi!* were cut to pieces; and two or three Leaguers, who attempted to raise the populace, were knocked on the head. Cardinal de Pelevé, Archbishop of Rheims, the great incendiary of the League, lying sick in his bed, hearing that the city was taken, and the King in quiet possession, turned himself about, and, without saying a word, breathed his last. At noon the King heard mass, and caused Te Deum to be sung at Notre Dame. He dined in the Louvre, and in the afternoon went to the gate of

A. D.
1594.



The King
and his army
enter Paris.

A. D.
1594.

St. Denis, to see the Spaniards march out: they were in number about three thousand men; and the King allowed them the honours of war. The Duke of Feria, Don Diego d'Ibarra, and Don Juan Baptista Taxis, saluted him with profound respect as they passed. The King returned the salute, and said, laughing, "My compliments, gentlemen, to your master; but don't come back any more." By this time all the shops were open, and the city as quiet as if nothing had happened. The King rewarded every person who had any share in this event; exiled only a few of the obstinate Leaguers, and more especially the Clergy. On the 30th of March, the Parliament of Paris, now complete by the union of Chalons and Tours, declared null every thing that had been done against the royal authority, from the last year of the late reign to the present moment. The Rector of the university came, and humbly asked the King's pardon: the Faculty of Divinity retracted all their decrees in favour of the League: and thus was completely re-established the peace and tranquillity of Paris.

Rouen surrendered next. Villars, who had so gallantly defended it for the League, and on whom the Duke of Mayenne, for that service, had conferred the title of Admiral of France, treated with the King. Terms were agreed upon. A multi-

A multitude
of other
places de-
clare for the
King.

tude of other places either made terms, or opened their gates without stipulating for any. The Duke

of

of Elbeuf, of the House of Lorraine, who had seized the government of Poitou, without the consent of the Duke of Mayenne, declared for the King. Marshal d'Aumont, with the assistance of an English fleet, recovered a great part of Bretagne.

A. D.

1594.

Count de St. Pol, who had been created Marshal of France by the Duke de Mayenne, held the government of Champagne; but, having treated the Duke of Guise with disrespect, and the Duke expostulating with him in the streets of Rheims, in favour of the people whom he oppressed, he not only gave him a surly answer, but laid his hand on his sword; upon which the Duke drew, and killed him upon the spot. The people, in whose quarrel it was done, and who were otherwise well affected to the Duke, owned him for their governor. He treated immediately with the King; and, though he refused him all his demands, he accepted the propositions made on behalf of his Majesty, and surrendered the province. The city of Aix having declared for the King, Lefdiguieres, by his orders, turned the Duke of Espernon out of Provence; the government of which, contrary to the advice of Chiverny, the Chancellor, and most of the Council, the King conferred upon the Duke of Guise. In the autumn the King besieged, and took, Laon: upon which Amiens, and a great part of Picardy, declared for him. The Pope still continued to act the same double part. After ha-

A. D.
1594.

ving obliged the Duke of Nevers to leave Rome, and received the agents of the League with kindness and respect, he gave assurances to D'Offat, that he had the best intentions in the world towards the King, and would not fail, at a proper time, to discover them. The Duke of Lorraine very wisely made his peace. Baligny, who held the principality of Cambray, submitted to the King, and was permitted to continue in his post of Marshal of France, which the Duke of Mayenne had bestowed upon him.

Henry intends to attack the Spanish Netherlands.

Henry, now in his turn, resolved to attack the Spaniards, and to begin with the Low Countries. He had certainly good, or at least plausible, reason for this undertaking; but he was chiefly instigated by those who had their own ends in view. His mistress Gabriella d'Estrees was desirous of having a principality for her son: Balogny, the most avaricious man living, hoped to plunder. The Duke of Bouillon had more extended views; his consort, the heiress of the great family of La Marck, was dead, without issue; however, he held her dominions, under colour of their being legally bequeathed to him by will: he thought to enlarge them, and, at the same time, to make a diversion in favour of the Prince of Orange, to whose sister he was contracted. The King relished the project, but resolved to be well advised. He returned from Picardy to Paris; and the same day, which was the 26th of December, being in a chamber of the

Louvre,

A. D.
1594.An attempt
made to as-
sassinat the
King.

Louvre, and two gentlemen coming in, as he went to embrace one of them, he received a stroke of a knife in his lip with such force, that it beat out one of his teeth. The assassin intended it for his throat; and his stooping suddenly, prevented its taking effect. The Count of Soissons, who stood before the King, seeing a young man by him change colour, and endeavour to steal away, laid hold of him: "Friend," said he, "either you or I have wounded the King." Presently after, the knife was found upon the floor. At first the young man denied, but soon after confessed, the attempt. His name was John Chastel, in the nineteenth year of his age, the son of Peter Chastel, a rich draper. The youth was silly, and very debauched. He had fallen into a fit of despair, in which it had occurred to him, from the monstrous doctrines of those times, that he might expiate all his sins by killing the King. He had been educated amongst the Jesuits, and from whom he learnt these principles. This circumstance occasioned a strict inquiry into their conduct; and, in the chamber of John Guignard, one of the Fathers of the Society, there was found a treatise, written in his own hand, in which Henry the Third was styled the Nero and Sardinapalus of France; his murder justified, and commended; and, in respect to Henry the Fourth, it was said that, though he had abjured his heresy, he would meet with milder treatment than he deserved, if he was deposed, and confined to a con-

A. D.
1594.

vent for his life. The Parliament, by an *arrêt*, condemned John Chastel to suffer as a traitor, his father to be banished Paris for ever, and the kingdom for many years, because his son had revealed to him his design, for which, though he had reprimanded him severely, he had not either discovered it, nor confined him. Father John Guerit, under whom he had studied, was banished for life; and Father Guignard condemned to be hanged, not for composing those treasonable pieces, but for having them in his custody, after an *arrêt* had been published, forbidding the keeping of any such flagitious treatises, on pain of capital punishment. A pyramid of infamy was erected where the house of Chastel stood; and the Jesuits were banished. The other parliaments of the kingdom followed the example of Paris, except those of Bourdeaux and Toulouse. But, nine years afterwards, the Jesuits were recalled, notwithstanding several of the ablest lawyers in the kingdom had written against their doctrines and principles, and the strong opposition made to them by the Parliament of Paris.

1595.
Henry de-
clares war a-
gainst Spain.

The alarm occasioned by this affair being subsided, the King, at the beginning of the year 1595, declared war against Spain; and, that he might carry it on with a better effect, he took into his pay the troops of Lorraine, consisting of about six thousand men. The Duke of Mayenne was still master of Burgundy, and of some strong places in

A. D.

1595.

in Picardy, which were very troublesome; but, in the beginning of February, 1595, Baune revolted from him, and called in Marshal Biron, who secured it for the King. The Duke of Nemours, who had made his escape out of Pierre Encise, seized Vienne, and, with some Swiss troops sent him by the Duke of Savoy, endeavoured to block up Lyons. Marshal Montmorency, marching thither with a considerable body of troops, not only relieved the last, but recovered the first-mentioned city; the loss of which affected Nemours to such a degree, that it broke his heart, though others say he was poisoned. About the middle of May, Autun opened its gates to Marshal Biron. The inhabitants of Dijon, the capital of Burgundy, encouraged by this example, expelled the Viscount Tavannes, and declared for the King, who soon after went into that province, in order to command his army in person. Before his departure he committed the frontier of Picardy to the care of the Duke of Nevers, the Count de St. Pol, the Duke de Bouillon, and the Admiral de Villars, and declared the Prince of Conti head of the Council he left at Paris; a nomination which extremely offended the Count de Soissons, who was never much in the King's favour. The true design of the King's expedition was to gratify the ambition of his mistress, by the conquest of Franche Comté, which he proposed to bestow upon his son Cæsar, reserving the sovereignty, not to himself, but to the

A. D.
1595.

Swiss Cantons, to prevent their being jealous of this conquest.

Henry having made his entry into Troyes on the 30th of May, he from thence continued his march into Burgundy, where he had the news that Valasco, Constable of Castille, had entered Franche Comté with an army of fifteen thousand men, and was joined by the Duke of Mayenne. The King, apprehending that they intended the relief of the castles of Dijon and Talan, ordered them both to be besieged; and in the mean time resolved, with a corps of cavalry, to harass the enemies army, in order to give time for the reduction of those places. This corps did not consist of above five hundred men. He had ordered his troops to rendezvous between Lux and Fontaine Françoise, fully determined to give the enemy battle; but continuing to advance, that he might the better inform himself of their strength, he fell in with their van-guard, charged them, and gave the highest proofs of his courage, at the expence of his prudence and conduct. The troops he engaged, and dispersed, were those of the Duke of Mayenne, who rode up immediately to the Constable, and intreated him not to lose so great an advantage. The Spaniard answered with great gravity, that he knew what he had to do, and would not advance at all. The Duke then entreated him to spare fifteen hundred horse, but in vain. The King all this time maintained the
fight,

fight, till at length a body of eight hundred of his forces appeared in fight; upon which the Constable recalled his cavalry, and retired. By this happy temerity Henry carried his point; and, the two castles being taken, he was in a condition to give the Spaniards battle. On the other hand, the Duke of Mayenne, not being able to engage the Constable to do any thing for his service, and having but two places of consequence left, was on the point of retiring into Savoy. In these circumstances, the King, with great generosity, sent him word, that, if he would go to Chalons, he would grant him a truce of three months, in which they might treat of peace; which offer he very readily accepted, and immediately quitted the Spanish army.

A. D.
1595.

The King, having ravaged Franche Comté, thought it necessary to go to Lyons, where he had many things of great importance to transact. He made his entry with great magnificence, and was received by the Archbishop, who had been styled the soul of the League, with all possible marks of duty and submission. He made an offer of concluding a treaty with the Duke of Savoy, but it ended only in a truce. Lefdiguieres went thither to pay his respects and to receive his commands, which chiefly regarded the expulsion of the Duke of Espernon out of Provence, who was more troublesome there than ever, and who, in return to a message that the King had sent him to quit the

A. D.
1595.

the province, with an intimation, if he did not, he would come and drive him out, he answered rudely, "Let him come; I shall be his harbinger, not to prepare him quarters, but to lay every place in ashes where he is to pass." The King was much less effected with this bravado than with the discovery which he received from various hands, that the Duke, notwithstanding all his professions, had in reality sold himself to Spain, and received from his Catholic Majesty a great pension, paid him in hard money every month. It was, however, some consolation, that, after infinite pains and infinite patience, the Pope was pleased, though not in the most gracious manner, to absolve the King on the 17th of September, in the persons of his two agents Du Perron and D'Ossat, both afterwards honoured with the purple. But while these transactions were on the tapis, the Spaniards carried the war into Picardy. The Count de Fuentes, with an army of fifteen thousand men, and a good train of artillery, besieged Catalet; and, while he was thus employed, Monsieur Humieres laid a plan for the surprisal of Ham, a very strong place, where the Spaniards had a garrison of sixteen hundred men in the town, exclusive of the Duke of Aumale's troops in the castle. This enterprise succeeded, but at the expence of its author, Monsieur d'Humieres, and several other brave officers, who were killed in the attack; a loss which so incensed the French, that they gave no quarter to the

A. D.

1595.



the garrison. Catalet having surrendered, the Count de Fuentes invested Dourlens, assisted by the Sieur de Rosne, to whom the King had refused the confirmation of his title of Marshal of France, which he had the greatest reason afterwards to repent. The Duke of Nevers intended to assemble an army for the relief the place; but the Marshal de Bouillon, the Count de St. Pol, and Admiral Villars, who had no mind to be commanded by him, undertook to do what he proposed before his arrival. But when they came to the execution of this scheme, they quarrelled among themselves, and ruined the affair; the Admiral and M. de Sesseval were taken prisoners, and, in cold blood, murdered, because they had formerly deserted the League: Dourlens was soon after taken. The Parliament, irritated at the share the Duke of Aumale had in this transaction, declared him guilty of high treason, and caused his effigies, dressed in a Spanish habit, with a red scarf and garters, to be beheaded and quartered, by the common hangman. The Conde Fuentes next attacked Cambray, and partly by force, partly by the assistance of the inhabitants, made himself master both of the place and of the citadel. Henry, on the first news of this siege, set out for the frontiers, having ordered his forces to assemble for their relief; but being met by the Duke de Nevers on the road, he advised him to desist, looking upon the attempt as impracticable. As the King was a man of a quick temper,

A. D.
1595.

temper, he made him so brisk an answer, that the Duke immediately retired, took to his bed, and died in a few days, after having refused a visit, which the King proposed to have made him. With the forces intended for the relief of Cambray, the King blocked up La Fere; and while he was thus employed, he was a good deal perplexed by the claims and demands of his old friends the Hugonots, and his new friends of Rome.

Treaty with
the Duke of
Mayenne.

In the beginning of the year the King finished his treaty with the Duke of Mayenne. In this treaty the King promised an entire oblivion for what was past; discharged the Duke from any account of the public money he had received; restored him and his adherents to their estates; absolved him and all the princes and princesses of his house of all suspicion with respect to the murder of the late King; granted him the towns of Seure, Chalons, and Soissons, for his security; gave the government of the former to his son, for six years, independent of that of Burgundy; charged himself with the payment of three hundred and fifty thousand crowns, due from the Duke to private persons; and transferred all his public debts, of whatever nature, upon the crown. This agreement seemed too favourable to many, and not a little strange to all, more especially as the King treated with him expressly as the chief of his party, and promised oblivion and his favour to all who would embrace

A. D.
1595.

embrace it in quality of adherents to the Duke. Some ascribe this indulgence to the intercession of Gabrielle d'Etrees, but it seems more probable that it was owing to some other causes. As great as these conditions were, the Duke might have obtained still more advantageous, if he had treated in time; but he always declared that he would wait for the Pope's absolution, that he would treat as the head of a party, and that all his public and private engagements should be fulfilled. He remained firm to these articles, and his firmness recommended him to the King. He was persuaded that the Duke had a perfect knowledge of the affairs and interests of the kingdom, foreign and domestic; and he felt so many inconveniences from the rancorous resentment of the Duke of Aumale and the Sieur de Rosne, that he was resolved not to force a man of the Duke of Mayenne's wisdom and weight to throw himself into the arms of Spain. He considered that, from the beginning of the war, the Duke of Mayenne had manifested a constant respect for his person, and, what errors soever he had committed, had fairly saved his crown, by preventing the Assembly of the States from proceeding to an election, which must have been attended with a long, hazardous, and perhaps disastrous war. The Duke came soon after to Monceaux, to kiss the King's hand, and met with such a reception, as attached him entirely to this Monarch's service for the remainder
of

A. D. 1595. his life. It was Henry's policy, to make a friend of an enemy.

Story of
Ramée.

About this time one Francis de la Ramée appeared at Rheims, and endeavoured to get himself crowned King of France. He pretended to be the son of Charles the Ninth, and Elizabeth of Austria; that he had been exposed by order of the Queen-Mother, and bred up by the gentleman for whose son he was taken. Some people of distinction believed this strange story, and relieved him; but he was undoubtedly an impostor, as well as an enthusiast. As such he was convicted, condemned to be hanged, and suffered. The Duke of Guise found himself very little at ease in his new government: he had the Spaniards, the Leaguers, the Duke of Savoy, and the Duke of Espernon, to deal with; little money, and very few troops. In this perplexed situation he meditated the surprisal of Marseilles, though there was a Spanish fleet in the harbour; he was so fortunate as to effect this scheme, by the assistance of Peter de Liberat, a Corsican, and with the hazard of his own person. When the news came to Henry the Fourth, he could not help crying out, "At length then I am a king!" The Duke of Guise, in a short time after, drove Espernon to such difficulties, that he seemed inclined to retire; and the Provençals were so desirous to be rid of him, that they presented him with a free gift of fifty thousand crowns, and added thirty thousand more to content his officers. He went, notwithstanding all this, to Court, and ob-

tained from the King the government of the Limousin by way of an equivalent. In that juncture Henry bestowed more from fear than inclination.

A. D.
1595.



The Arch-
duke Albert
invades
France.

The blockade of La Fere, which had continued all the winter, was turned into a siege, which the King commanded in person. The cardinal, Archduke Albert, had assumed the government of the Low Countries, and had brought with him such supplies of men and money, as, exclusive of the forces that acted against the States of Holland, left it in his power to assemble twenty thousand men, with a good train of artillery. With these he resolved to carry the war vigorously into France, and a very strange accident put it in his power to do more than he ever expected. Henry, for very particular reasons, had refused to include the Sieur Rosne in his treaty with the Duke of Mayenne. One of these reasons was, that he had begun to practice with Rosne himself, who, on the first proposition, answered roundly, "Tell the King that I am in debt twenty thousand crowns; let him enable me to pay that sum, and get out of this country (he was then at Brussels), and I shall with great joy throw myself at his feet." By some indiscretion in those whom the King had employed, this negotiation was discovered to the Spaniards, who immediately sent for Rosne; and as he went to the council he received a note, in which were these words, "Save yourself, or you are undone." He

tore

A.D.
1595.

tore it immediately, went on, entered the council with an assured countenance, and told them, that, when they sent for him, he was coming to make them a proposal of importance. He was thereupon ordered to withdraw. Don Diego d'Ibarra, who hated the Duke of Mayenne, and all that belonged to him, was for punishing without hearing him; but the Conde Fuentes, asserting that Rosne had done great service the last campaign, was a very able officer, and capable of great things, it was resolved to hear him. Rosne immediately proposed the taking of Calais, and showed that it was not only possible, but easy. The Archduke was charmed with his plan; and this man, who had entered the council a criminal, went out a favourite. The whole direction of affairs was left to him; and before the King was well apprised of its danger, the principal posts were forced, and the town was taken. The stormy weather prevented the Dutch from saving it; and Queen Elizabeth of England refused her assistance, except upon condition of keeping the place, a proposal which Henry rejected with disdain. The King, who had advanced with a body of cavalry into its neighbourhood, returned to the siege of La Fere, which surrendered on the 22d of May: it was a place of very great consequence; but the loss of Ardres, which was taken the very next day by the Sieur de Rosne, chagrined the King extremely. De Rosne did not enjoy his reputation long, being
killed

killed the same year by a cannon shot at the siege of Hulst.

A. D.
1596.

Cardinal de Medicis, whom the Pope had sent legate into France, made his entry into Paris on the 25th of July; the King had just reason to be pleased with his conduct. He treated with contempt some endeavours to excite new disputes with the Court of Rome, and did all that was in his power to promote peace. The King, notwithstanding, found his affairs very much embarrassed; the Duke of Mercœur still supported himself in Bretagne, by the assistance of the Spaniards; and amused the King with a very insincere negotiation, although Henry had permitted his sister, the Queen-Dowager, to make him a visit, and to offer him all that he could desire. The Hugonots, prompted by the Dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, were on the point of taking dangerous resolutions, which the King had much difficulty to prevent: Henry's finances were in such disorder, that in the camp before La Fère he wanted the common necessities of life. He however kept up his spirits, and sent Marshal Biron into Artois, where he treated the country in the same manner the Spaniards had treated France. His affairs requiring it, he concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with England and Holland; and, in order to settle his domestic concerns, he called an assembly of the Notables at Rouen; where many good regulations were made, and some steps taken to pacify the

Vol. III. T Hugonots

A. D.
1596.


Hugonots. The Queen of England, as a mark of her reconciliation, sent him the Order of the Garter.

Amiens
taken.

While things were in this situation, an event happened which threw the King and kingdom into absolute confusion. Don Ferdinand Tello de Portocarrero, who commanded the Spanish garrison in Dourlens, formed a design of surprising Amiens. The King, who saw that place was exposed, would have thrown a corps of Swiss troops into it; but the inhabitants, who had opened their gates to the King, were averse to this precaution; and Henry was unwilling to give them any cause of discontent. Portocarrero, that he might the better know how to take his measures, went thither several times; sometimes in one disguise, sometimes in another. At length he brought his design to bear, and, with very little effusion of blood, made himself master of the place on the 11th of March.

Henry de-
sponding.

The news of this misfortune affected the King more than any thing that had ever happened to him. He sent for the Baron de Rhosny, and complained to him passionately, that he was surrounded with difficulties and dangers, and entirely destitute of the means to defend himself; that the Hugonots were ready to revolt on one side; that the Spaniards had pushed him hard on the other; that the small number of troops he had about him could scarce be called an army; and that his want of money, though extreme, was not greater than his want of resources and credit. Rhosny under-

Relieved by
Rhosny.

took

took to form a scheme for delivering him out of his distress. In a few hours he brought him a memoir, which raised the King's spirits; he copied it with his own hand, and resolved to take the honour of it to himself, not to lessen the merit of the Baron's service, but to give it the greater weight in his Council. This had the desired effect: he raised, in a voluntary loan, by engaging his faith for re-payment in two years, with interest, six hundred thousand crowns; he raised the gabelle; and, to stop all enquiries into their ill management, he drew from those intrusted with the receipt of his revenues, in a very short time, two millions and a half, by way of contribution; and, that they might be better managed for the future, he put the Baron at the head of the finances. By these acts of prudence and vigour he was enabled to lay siege to Amiens.

A. D.
1596.

However, in the midst of the preparations which were making for this purpose, the King was obliged to go to Paris, on account of a distemper which was the effect of his debauches; and there it was he spent in his chamber the most melancholy three weeks of his life; for having good intelligence from some about him, who would not on any terms conceal the truth, he understood the real state of his affairs, which were never in a worse condition. The loss of Amiens had cooled that spirit which before prevailed of imploring his clemency, and expiating past faults by present as-

A.D.
1696.

assistance. It was a wind that fanned the dying ashes of the league. The Duke of Mercœur having persisted in his revolt, received with open arms such as retired into Bretagne, and encouraged all who were capable of causing little castles or villages to revolt. The Duke of Savoy carried the war on briskly, and would certainly have made great impressions on France, if Lesdiguières, without any assistance, had not baffled all his projects. Even the Duke of Florence, who had acknowledged the King so early, and had done him so many services, thought him now in so weak a condition, that he seized the island and castle of If, which, in some measure, commanded the port of Marseilles, without troubling himself about making any excuse for this violence. But what affected the King more than all the rest, were the attempts made by the three Dukes of Montpensier, Bouillon, and Tremouille, to establish a third party, under the title of Bons François, or True Patriots, under the protection of the Queen of England; and, in consequence of this strange design, the refusal of the Hugonots to march any troops to his assistance, under pretence that they were afraid of a new St. Bartholomew in the field; the very thought of which the King abhorred. In this distress he sought the assistance of the Parliament. His misfortunes operated in his favour; his old adherents were faithful to him; and his new friends exerted themselves in a manner that he did

not

not expect, and which justified his conduct towards them, as well as his favourite maxim of making a friend of an enemy.

A. D.
1596.

The Baron de Rhosny reproached the Hugonots for their behaviour, and shewed them the folly of forming a faction against a Prince who was inclined to do for them all they could reasonably ask. Lefdiguieres, upon whom they had great dependance, gave them to understand, that he not only disapproved their conduct, but that, if they persisted in their designs, he would turn his forces against them. At length, by dint of Rhosny's influence, Lefdiguieres's menaces, and the King's granting them all that they asked, they were prevailed upon to be quiet, and the third party came to nothing. The Duke of Mayenne told his old friends that the only way to shew they had formerly acted upon principle, was not to spare either their persons or their purses for the King. The Queen of England sent over a body of four thousand foot; and when the King came in person to the siege of Amiens, he quickly increased his army to thirty thousand men. But by this time the Spaniards had fortified the place, in which they had a numerous garrison, composed of their best troops, commanded by Portocarrero, who made continual sallies, till, very luckily for the French, he was killed by a cannon-shot. The garrison then chose for their governor Don Jerom Caraffa, Marquis of Montenegro, a man of cool

Siege of
Amiens.

A. D.
1596.



but determined courage, who prosecuted his predecessor's plan, entrenched himself within the town, and gave the Archduke time to march to his relief, with twenty-five thousand veterans, by much the best in the Spanish service. On their approach there arose great debates among the King's Council. Marshal Biron advised the King to give the enemy battle in the field; the Duke of Mayenne vehemently opposed this measure. The King said coolly, "What then is to be done?" "Sire, (replied the Duke) you came hither to recover Amiens, and not to gain a victory. To fight, is to stake your kingdom upon the fortune of a day, against an army equal in number to your own, and composed of excellent troops. Remain in your lines; I know the Spaniards; they are slow and cautious, and will not be forward to force you." The King took his advice. The Archduke with his army advanced towards the lines. The troops in the trenches fell into a panic, and ran away.

Gallant conduct of the Duke of Mayenne.

The Duke of Mayenne kept a continual discharge of his artillery, that the smoke might conceal the misfortune, and marched in person to repair it. The Archduke, through his caution, lost his opportunity. He advanced a second time to attack the weakest part of the entrenchments. The Duke of Mayenne posted six pieces of cannon so opportunely, and they did such terrible execution, that the Spanish forces retired. The Duke caused that weak part to be fortified; and, in a third attempt they

they were repulsed with loss, upon which the Archduke retired, and the place surrendered on the 25th of September on honourable terms. The King returned to Paris, where he was received with all possible marks of loyalty and respect. The face of his affairs was entirely changed; and he saw himself now on the point of becoming entirely master of his kingdom. A. D. 1596. Henry's affairs changed for the better. Lefdiguieres, though constrained to raise money upon his own credit, and by what other methods he could devise, had disappointed all the views of the Duke of Savoy notwithstanding the assistances he received from Spain. He had taken from him five or six places, repulsed his army with loss, when attacked in his entrenchments, and more than once, routed his troops in the field; insomuch that the Duke, quite tired out by this Fox of Dauphiné, as he called him, who was never to be outwitted, began to think seriously of peace, because he understood that his Catholic Majesty intended, by the mediation of the Pope, to put an end to the war without delay. Henry was far from being averse to either of these treaties, though he discovered that the Court of Madrid had still some partizans in Paris, who had begun to hold private meetings after the surprise of Amiens; but being discovered and secured, seven of them were hanged, and others banished. Two advocates, one of Beauvois and the other of Paris, by whose assistance the Duke of Mercœur carried on a correspondence with the

A. D.
1596.

Archduke in Flanders, were, by an *arrêt* of the Parliament, condemned to be broke alive on the wheel at the Grève; which sentence was executed with the utmost severity. But the King spared the life of Peter Owen, a Carthusian monk, and a native of Bretagne, with whom the Spaniards had treated to procure a person to attempt the King's life, because, before it was discovered, it appeared that he repented of his design, and, the man being dead with whom he had tampered, refused to proceed any farther. The King consented likewise, that Marshal de Brisac, who commanded for him in Bretagne, should conclude a truce with the Duke de Mercœur for the remainder of the year; and he sent M. de Villeroy to the frontiers, to settle with M. Richardot, the minister of the Cardinal Archduke, the place and time for opening the conferences for the conclusion of a general peace. The Duke of Luxemburgh was the King's minister at Rome, and very well received; but the secret remained with Arnold d'Offat, one of the ablest and honestest ministers in the King's service; and yet he was more fortunate in this respect than most of his predecessors; for, in no period of the history of France, has that nation ever produced better officers, or abler statesmen, than during the reign of Henry the Fourth.

The King ordered Marshal de Brisac to renew the war in Bretagne, and not to listen to any propositions whatever. The Marshal pursued his instructions

structions with spirit and success. In the beginning of February the King began his march with two thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, directly towards Bretagne. On his approach, six or seven of the principal nobility of that duchy rendered their forts, and submitted. The Duke of Mercœur was so astonished, that he gave all for lost, and resolved to make his peace also on the best terms he could: he was indeed the dupe of his own politics to the very last; for, at the beginning, he had flattered himself with the hopes of keeping the duchy of Bretagne in right of his wife; so, at this very juncture, he scarce made any doubt that he should be comprised in the general peace, as an ally of Spain: but finding himself on the point of being attacked by a royal army, and at the same time in danger of being deserted by most of his dependents, he was obliged to have recourse to an expedient, which, though it operated much better than he could expect, was a resource not very pleasing to himself, and extremely mortifying to his Duchess, the heiress of the house of Penthièvre, one of the proudest women in France. What made it still more afflicting to her was, the untoward circumstance of her being obliged to go in person, as a suppliant, to Angiers, where the King was, and to make the proposition, importing, that they would give their only daughter to the King's natural son, whom the courtiers, to please his father, and to flatter his mother, called Cæsar Monsieur.

This

A. D.
1597.

Bretagne
taken by the
King.

A. D.
1597.

This was accepted; and the King gave his son the duchy of Vendosme, with that of Beaufort after the decease of his mother: on the other hand, the young Princess was to have the duchies of Estampes, Penthievre, and Mercœur. The Duke was likewise obliged to resign, in favour of his son-in-law, the government of Bretagne. The King, to make all things sure, caused the young couple to be immediately contracted, and soon after married by the Cardinal de Joyeuse, with as much pomp as if he had been his lawful son. Henry went afterwards to Rheims, to hold the States of Bretagne, and from thence to Nantes. In the space of two months, which the King spent in this country, he amassed twelve hundred thousand crowns in ready money, two thirds of which arose from the free gift of the States.

Edict
of Nantes.

The Hugonots by this time had altered their manner of thinking, and were very solicitous to have their affairs settled; upon which subject their deputies had followed the King from Blois to Nantes; and there it was that they at length procured the famous edict, bearing the name of that place, dated the last of April, which for a while procured him quiet. It is certain there was at least as much of policy and apprehension, as of gratitude or inclination, in what the King did for them on this occasion. On one hand he was much estranged by their behaviour, and by the ingratitude of their chiefs, who sought chiefly to render themselves formidable

formidable by a pretended zeal for religion; on the other, the Lords of the Catholic League had lately rendered him very important services, and professed themselves zealously attached to his person and government. But the fear he had, that, if the Hugonots took arms, they might not only draw foreigners again into the kingdom, but also retard the peace with Spain, and afford a pretence for reviving the Catholic League, made him willing to grant them favourable terms; but, above all, his desire of peace, that he might have an opportunity of remedying the disorders, and extinguishing the grievances of which his subjects of all ranks complained, induced him to grant this edict, and to maintain it, after it was granted, with that firmness which became a king, conscious that he had acted from no other motive, and that what he had done could have no other tendency than promoting the general tranquillity and public good.*

The conferences for the peace with Spain were carried on very successfully at Vervins, under the mediation

* This famous edict bore date at Nantes, April 13th, 1598; and, besides re-establishing, in a more solid and effectual manner, all the favours that ever had been granted to the reformed by other Princes, and particularly by his predecessor, there were added some which had not been either imagined or demanded before; particularly the granting them a free admission to all employments of trust, profit, and honour; the establishing chambers, in which the members of the two religions were equal; and the permitting their children to be educated without constraint in any of the universities.

A. D.

1597.

Peace with
Spain.

mediation of the Pope's legate. The treaty of Vervins was signed on the 2d of May. The Archduke sent to Paris the Duke of Arscot, to assist at the ceremony of the King's swearing to the performance of the treaty at Notre Dame. On the other hand, the King, in the month of July, sent Monsieur Biron, whom he had lately created Duke and Peer of France, to Brussels, to be present at the like ceremony on the part of the Cardinal Archduke; a circumstance that would not have been found in this history, if there had not been good grounds to suppose that this journey gave a beginning to those intrigues that cost France so dear, and at length brought the unfortunate Marshal, Duke de Biron, to the block.

And with
Tuscany.

In the course of this year, the King concluded a treaty with the Great Duke of Tuscany, which was attended with singular complaisance on both sides. The King had discovered some intrigues of the Grand Duke in Provence, but thought fit to dissemble his knowledge of them, in remembrance of the kindnesses he had received from that Prince, when his affairs were in a desperate situation. On the other hand, the Grand Duke consented to evacuate the islands that he held on the coast of Provence, upon the King's confessing a debt of two hundred thousand crowns, and giving him twelve such hostages as he should name, for the payment of it in four years: he now, by a letter to Henry, renounced this last concession, merely because he

under-

understood it was very disagreeable to him. The King was now put in full possession of all the territories belonging to the Crown of France. Before the close of the year he made many excellent regulations in his finances, disbanded a great part of his troops, satisfied the Clergy of France on their remonstrances, and escaped from a dangerous fever, that brought him to the brink of the grave, about the same time that his old antagonist, Philip the Second, actually sunk into it; an event which secured the continuance of that peace which had been lately made.

A. D.
1597.

At the commencement of the year, the King, by the advice of the Baron de Rhosny, remitted the taxes that were due, to the amount of twenty millions. The minister very wisely observed, that the King should have the credit of giving what could never be paid, and at the same time it might be an argument for his frugality. It was the maxim of Rhosny, that, in the management of the treasury, there was not so much need of a great genius and long experience, as of a clear head and an honest heart. He practised every method possible to bring his master out of debt, and to maintain the state honourably, without oppressing the people. It was the great commendation of the King, that these talents made his minister acceptable to him, for he was truly the father of his people. He was very tender in taking from them, and had the highest satisfaction at seeing them thrive. The Baron de

1593.

Character
of Baron de
Rhosny.

Rhosny

A. D.
1598.

Rhosny was not content with being a good economist, and doing his duty with the utmost fidelity; he would go still farther, and make the King master of his own affairs; and this, notwithstanding the vivacity of his temper, which would not allow him to attend to any thing long. Rhosny digested the whole system of the finances into tables, by the help of which the King saw, in a very narrow compass, all the different branches of his revenue, and of his expence. It is inconceivable in how short a time this able man drew exact order out of that chaos in which these affairs had been involved by his predecessors. He levied the revenue in the shortest and least expensive manner possible; for he held, that every person so employed was a man lost to the public, and yet maintained by the public. He reduced all the expences of government; but, at the same time, he paid every body punctually, and took care that the King should have such a reserve as not to be obliged, on any emergency, to have recourse either to new impositions upon his people, or to make use of credit. This great man, instead of making his ministry useful to himself, by gaining friends, never hesitated at making himself enemies, by standing between his master and those importunate courtiers who were perpetually craving, in a degree out of all proportion to their merit, and who could plead no merits to justify their continual applications.

The marriage of the Archduke Albert to the Infanta, induced the King to hasten that of his sister with the Duke of Bar, which, however, was attended with some difficulties, on account of the difference of religion, which had induced the Pope to write to the Duke against it, and prevented the obtaining a dispensation; notwithstanding which, Henry's sister married to the Duke of Bar. impediment, the King caused it to be celebrated by their natural brother Charles de Bourbon, archbishop of Rouen. The Princess, however, notwithstanding this marriage, and her promise to be instructed, lived and died a zealous and sincere Protestant; without issue, and without felicity. Before she left France, she pressed the King extremely to procure the verification of the edict of Nantes, in favour of the Protestants. It had been delayed till the departure of the Pope's legate; and this delay had given time to some warm spirit amongst the clergy to raise a vehement opposition against it, more especially to one of the clauses, which permitted the Protestants to invite what strangers they thought proper to assist at their synods, without demanding any permission from the Crown, which clause had been inserted to gratify the Duke de Bouillon, and was penned in such a manner as gave the Popish clergy but too much advantage. The King therefore caused it to be modified, with the consent of the Protestants, many of whom disliked it at the time; and, with a few other restrictions, he obliged the parliament

TO

A. D.
1598.

Edict of
Nantes re-
gistered.

Henry
wishes to
marry the
Duchess of
Beaufort.

to register it: but, though his commands were peremptory, the reasons he gave for them were conclusive, and such as, in the sentiments of impartial persons, rendered it evident he had not the gratification of the Protestants more in view than the peace and welfare of his subjects in general. The King was not so successful, in respect to his divorce and marriage, which he had for some time meditated. He was desirous of obtaining from the Pope the dissolution of his marriage with Margaret, sister to the late King, to which that Princess was not at all averse: but, at present, being informed that the King designed to replace her by marrying the Duchess of Beaufort, she positively declared that she would give it all the opposition in her power. The Pope likewise expressed an extreme aversion to so strange, and, in some respects, so absurd a project; from which, however, the King never departed, till he was released from the importunities of the lady, by her unfortunate death, which he deplored with great violence: but, like all things violent, his grief was but of short duration;* for,
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* This lady was the daughter of Anthony d'Estrées, Seigneur de Cœuvres les Soissons, master of the artillery. Monsieur d'Estrées, as a man of honour, was extremely shocked at the ill conduct of his wife, who had an intrigue with the Marquis d'Alegre Meillan, governor of Issoire, in Auvergne, and was murdered in a tumult raised against her gallant. As for the fair Gabrielle, the King's amour with her commenced in the year 1591, to which her father opposed his authority as far as it was
in

In three weeks after the decease of the Duchess of Beaufort, he commenced an intrigue with Henrietta

A. D.
1598.

in his power ; but the young lady's inclinations, and the counsels of her aunt Madame de Sourdis, soon put her in the King's power, who is said to have run strange hazards for her sake, and whose passion certainly brought his person sometimes into danger, his authority more frequently, and his reputation always. We find her mentioned by so many names in the French history, that an ordinary reader may be easily confounded : sometimes she is called La belle Gabrielle, or the Fair Gabrielle, in respect to her beauty ; sometimes Mademoiselle de Cœuvre, from her title ; more frequently Madame de Liencourt, and Madame de la Roche Guyon, on account of her marriage with Nicholas d'Amerval Seigneur de Liencourt, and de la Roche Guyon, afterwards Marchioness de Monceaux, and Duchess de Beaufort, titles bestowed upon her by the King. She was extremely ambitious of being queen ; and this is supposed to have been one great motive for her pressing the King to become a Catholic, because, without the interposition of the Pope's authority, it was absolutely impossible. The King himself was much bent upon it. He mentioned it to Cardinal de Medicis, when legate in France ; but he heard it so coolly, that, when the King sent Monsieur de Silleri to Rome to press his divorce, he was particularly instructed not to mention it to this cardinal. Her death was as remarkable as her life : she had accompanied the King to Fontainebleau, and passed with him there the greatest part of Lent, being at that time big with child ; but the King, considering the scandal that would attend her remaining with him during Passion-week, prevailed upon her to return to Paris. On her arrival at Paris, she went to the house of Sebastian Zamet, a native of Lucca, who had been long employed in the finances, and, for his pleasant temper, was in great favour with the King. She was treated at his house with all possible attention, and every thing provided for her that she had been observed to like. One day, eating a citron after dinner, she felt

A. D.
1598.

rietta Balsac d'Etragues, the daughter of the famous Madame Touchet, who became the mother of Count d'Auvergne, by Charles the Ninth. In order to obtain this lady, he gave her a promise of marriage; and, which is still stranger, he showed this promise, before he delivered it, to Monsieur de Rhosny, who, without much ceremony, tore it. The King asked him if he was mad? "If I am, Sir," said he, "you have shown in writing that you are madder than me. I have done what it became your faithful servant to do; and you do, Sire, what it does not become a great king to do." Notwithstanding this reprehension, the King wrote, and

felt herself extremely ill: however, becoming somewhat better, she went to vespers; but, at her return, walking in the garden, she had a stroke of an apoplexy. As soon as she came a little to herself, she desired to be carried to the house of her aunt, Madame de Sourdis, where she died in violent convulsions, in the month of April. Mezeray and other writers intimate that she was poisoned. She is said to have had many amiable qualities, and not to have been so generally hated as modern writers report. As to her marriage with Monsieur de Liencourt, a man of great quality, and very rich, but withal very deformed, it was an artifice of the King to get her out of the power of father; but this marriage was never consummated, and was afterwards dissolved. She was far from being a woman of great capacity, was exceedingly addicted to astrology, though continually tormented with the apprehension of those miseries that were foretold her. The King had by her Cæsar, Duke de Vendosme, born in June 1594, who died at Paris, October 22, 1665; Alexander, Grand Prior of France, who died in 1629; Catharine Henrietta, who espoused Charles of Lorraine, Duke d'Elbœuf, and died in 1663.

and gave her another promise; and, from his countenance for some days, Rhosny looked upon himself as disgraced, and was of that opinion when the King surprised him, by adding to his former employments that of master of the ordnance. In the mean time the business of the divorce went on as well as the King could wish it, at Rome. Queen Margaret, on the death of the Duchéss of Beaufort, having done all the King could desire to forward it, the marriage was declared void; and the parties were permitted to marry again. Arnold d'Offat, now raised to the purple, and Monsieur Silleri, negociated this affair, and afterwards the marriage of the King to Mary de Medicis, niece to the Great Duke of Tuscany. It was concluded sooner than he expected; but, when he found that it was so, he entered into the measure with a good grace, and declared that, as it was necessary for the welfare of his subjects, he was content to marry.

A. D.
1598.

Henry obtains a divorce.

The King's Ministers were at this time employed in repairing all the ravages which were caused by the civil war, and abolishing all those innovations that had been made either to the prerogative of the crown, or the welfare of the people. These schemes, how just, how necessary soever in themselves, were not acceptable to all the world, and were more especially displeasing to those great lords who did not care to be put in mind that there was such a thing as duty, or that they had any superior. Amongst these might be reckoned the

U 2

Constable

A. D.
1598.

Constable Montmorency, the Marshal Duke de Bouillon, the Dukes of Tremouille and Montpensier : but the Duke of Espernon exceeded them all in his discontent, and was himself exceeded by the Marshal Duke de Biron, whose head was so turned with vanity, that he could no longer endure the thoughts of being a subject.

The Duke
of Savoy goes
to Paris.

The Duke of Savoy, who had heard of every thing that was going on in France, took a sudden resolution to make a tour to the Court of France; in which he had two great points in view : the first was to try if he could cajole the King and his Ministers, so as to obtain from them the Marquisate of Saluces, which, by the treaty of Vervins, was to be restored to France, from whom the Duke had taken it; and with which, at all events, he was determined never to part: the other object was, to form a party amongst the malcontents in France, in case his first design should fail. Henry would willingly have avoided this visit; but the Duke piqued himself upon his skill in negotiation, and flattered himself so much with the hopes of making partisans in the French Court, that nothing could divert him from his project. He was received with all possible marks of respect, treated with the utmost politeness and magnificence; and the Duke, on his side, exceeded, in all respects, the notions that had been entertained of him. He made his court to the King with equal address and assiduity, without the least inter-

A. D.
1598.

intermixture of meanness or of flattery: he conversed with all the great men about the Court with much ease and affability, without departing from his dignity: he made presents to the value of four hundred thousand crowns; and, in short, omitted nothing that was possible for him to do towards carrying his point, and yet without advancing it at all. He was a full month at Court before the King mentioned any thing of business; and at length, when they came to treat, he told him plainly, that the restitution of the Marquisate of Saluces was what he expected, or an equivalent. He seemed to relish the notion of an equivalent; and he proposed first one, and then another. At length a treaty was signed at Paris, about the middle of February; by which the Duke stipulated to restore the Marquisate of Saluces, or to yield to the King the equivalent therein expressed, and to make his option by the 1st of June. As for the manner of this negotiation, the King and his Ministers had very little reason to expect that the Duke would carry it into execution: there wanted not some who advised Henry to secure that Prince's person, as the most effectual means of procuring the Marquisate of Saluces without a war; but Henry declared that he would imitate the conduct of Francis I. and not break his faith for the sake of any advantage. He gave the Duke to understand as much; who thereupon laid aside all thoughts of making his escape, and, in the beginning of March, set out for his dominions, the King

1599.

A. D.
1599.

the whole Court accompanying him as far as the bridge of Charenton, and sending the Baron de Lux to wait on him to the frontiers. On his arrival at Bourg, in Bressies, which was then a part of his dominions, he wrote a letter to his Majesty, and then continued his journey to Chamberry, where he remained till the 20th of March, and then went to

Returns to
Turin.

Turin, at which place he promised to give the French ministers his final answer.

Unites with
Spain.

During the time that he was at the Court of France, he endeavoured to persuade the King and his Ministers, that he was entirely detached from Spain; and even insinuated, that he should not be averse to see Henry revive his pretensions to the Duchy of Milan: but he no sooner returned home than he sent his Chancellor to Madrid, to demand the protection of Philip III. and his assistance, in case of a rupture. At first the Chancellor was coldly treated, and had some broad hints given him of the overtures made by his master while at Paris; but, upon his denying them, the Spanish ministry altered their language, gave him strong assurances of support, and sent the necessary orders for that purpose the Conde Fuentes, governor of Milan. In consequence of this step, Henry sent to the Duke for his final answer: the Duke demanded first a delay, and at length declared, that the treaty of Paris was too hard, and that he could not think of carrying it into execution. The King, who had taken his measures in the mean time, caused Bresse, Savoy,

Savoy, and the county of Nice, to be attacked all at a time. The first of these countries was entirely reduced by the Marshal Duke de Biron, except the citadel of Bourg. Chamberry and the best part of Savoy were likewise carried without much resistance: but the Duke of Guise failed in his attempt to surprise the castle of Nice. All these transactions happened within the compass of the month of August. In the beginning of September the King took Miolans. Lesdiguières made himself master of Conflans, which opened a passage into the Tarentaise, and of Charbonnerie, which gave him an entrance into the Maurienne, both of which he reduced, and was then recalled, to satisfy the jealousy of the Marshal de Biron; but what astonished the Duke most, was the reduction of Montmelian, which he looked upon to be impracticable: but the Baron de Rhosny found means to carry six pieces of cannon to the top of what had been thought an inaccessible mountain, from whence he battered the place; a circumstance which so amazed the governor, that he promised to surrender, if he were not relieved in a certain time. The Duke marched, with a body of fifteen thousand good troops, to relieve the place; and the King advanced to give him battle; but the snow falling, prevented it; and the place surrendered. This loss was followed by a fresh misfortune: Marshal Biron, in the depth of winter, took Fort St. Catharine, another of the Duke's impregnable places, which he had fortified, at an immense expence, in

A. D.
1599.Is attacked
by Henry,and loses
many places.

A. D.
1599.



order to bridle the city of Geneva, and which, at the request of the inhabitants of that city, the King caused to be demolished. The Duke was extremely chagrined at these disasters : however, as he had entered rashly into the war, he was constrained to think in earnest of getting out of it, for which he implored the mediation of the Pope, and at length obtained it.

Henry mar-
ries Mary of
Medicis.

1599.

In consequence of the reduction of Fort St. Catharine, the King resolved to go to Lyons, where the Princess of Florence had waited for him a week. Bellegarde, master of the horse, and a great favourite had been sent to demand her at Florence. On the King's arrival at Lyons, the marriage was celebrated by the Cardinal Legate Aldobrandi : but, in the midst of all the pleasures and diversions that attended a ceremony of this kind, the great affairs of state went on, and particularly the treaty with the Duke of Savoy, which was chiefly negociated by the Cardinal Legate. The King was desirous of peace, which was absolutely necessary to the Duke ; and the Pope also had his reasons to have it concluded without delay, which were predominant inclinations, notwithstanding, they were all inclined to diffemble.

Makes peace
with the
Duke of Sa-
voy.

1601.

The address with which they acted their several parts, caused at length the whole negociation to be suspended ; but, by the skill of Baron de Rhosny, it was again revived, and concluded agreeably to the wishes of the King, in the month of January 1601.

The

The History of France does not contain an instance of a war being undertaken with more spirit, prosecuted with greater skill, or ended with more success than this. To this wisdom and bravery must be ascribed the cause, that it was the last foreign war in this reign. At the beginning of the war, a woman proposed to a great prince of the blood, whose discontents ran very high, to poison the King; but, instead of encouraging, he disclosed the treason, for which she was burnt alive.

Henry was soon after on the point of being engaged in a war with Spain; but the Pope seasonably interposed, and procured such satisfaction as the King desired. The Archduke Albert, notwithstanding his placid character, had likewise entered into some intrigues for surprising Metz, which met with the like fate. On that Prince's besieging Ostend, the King thought fit to make a tour to Calais, in the month of August, that it might appear he was ready to defend his frontiers in case of any attempt. It happened that Queen Elizabeth was then at Dover, from whence she sent Sir Thomas Edmonds to compliment him, and by Sir Thomas a letter, with which he was extremely pleased. He sent over the Baron de Rhosny, not in a public character, but as if he had taken that step out of curiosity; this, however, gave him an opportunity of seeing and discoursing with the
Queen

A. D.
1601.

Message
between
Henry and
Elizabeth
from Calais
to Dover.

A. D.
1601.



Queen, whose abilities made a great impression on him, and to whom he said all that could be said to confirm her friendship for his master. The King also sent over Marshal Biron, with a train of one hundred and fifty noblemen and gentlemen, to express the sense he had of the Queen's attention and respect. At the time of his arrival, the Queen was gone to Basing, whither he followed her, and met with a most gracious reception. She had a very long conference with the Marshal, to whom she spoke at large of the insolence of the Earl of Essex, who had been executed in the month of February preceding; adding, at the same time, that her brother Henry would do well, on a like occasion, to imitate her firmness, and not to risk his safety or his authority by an ill-timed clemency. It is justly observed by Camden, that the Queen might enter into some particulars regarding the Earl of Essex, with an intention to divert the Marshal from persisting in those dangerous intrigues, which, in a few months after, brought the like fate upon himself. At his return, the Marshal found the King at Fontainebleau, where, on the 27th of September, the Queen was delivered of the Dauphin, to whom the Pope, being sponsor, gave the name of Louis. The birth of the young Prince occasioned great joy in France, where they had not seen a Dauphin born for fourscore years. It was also of very great importance to the King's affairs; and, by fixing the succession, gave them,

Birth of the
Dauphin.

them, in a manner, a new face both at home and abroad.

A. D.
1601.



The grand Signor Mahommed III. sent over a French renegado, whom some writers dignify with the title of an ambassador, who was instructed to demand three things: first, That the King would not enter into the league which the Pope was endeavouring to form amongst the Christian Princes against the Porte; the second, to use his interest with the Emperor, in order to dispose him to a truce; and the third, that he would recall his vassal the Duke of Mercœur, who commanded the armies of the Emperor in Hungary. The King gave general answers to the two first points; and, with respect to the last, declared it was out of his power; for though the Duke of Mercœur was his vassal, he was likewise the vassal of the Emperor, who from thence derived a right to his service.

Ambassador
from Tur-
key.

After the war of Savoy Marshal Biron demanded of the King a gratification of thirty thousand crowns, which was very frankly given. When he came to consult with Rhosny on the manner of receiving it, for the state of the treasury was such, that it could not be paid at once, the Minister paid him half in ready money, and assured him of the remainder in a year. The Marshal seemed to be very well satisfied, but turned all his gratitude towards the Minister who paid it, and not to the Prince from whom it came. Rhosny, instead of accept-

Conduct of
Marshal Bi-
ron

ing

A. D.
1601.



ing his compliments, endeavoured to set him right in judgment, an explanation which, in appearance, the Marshal seemed to receive very well; but from this conversation Rhosny entertained such an idea of him, that he thought it his duty to acquaint the King with the necessity there was of his being upon his guard against a man of the Marshal's turn, whom no obligations could restrain, and whose talents rendered him very capable of executing whatever his resentments, well or ill founded, might dictate. The King told him, that he thought he knew Biron better than any man; that his great foible was vanity; and that, though very capable of lip-reason, yet, in the midst of his extravagancies, he would be as ready and as zealous in his service as ever: that instead, therefore, of disgracing or estranging this mal-content from business, the only way to keep him out of mischief was to employ him. With this view the King had sent him over to England the last year, and it was with the like view that he employed him in another negotiation at the beginning of this; a negotiation of infinite consequence to the French monarchy, and which hitherto had not been very far advanced even by the ablest negotiator. It was renewing the alliance with the Swiss Cantons, which, from the difficulty that attended it, the King was very desirous of putting upon a new basis, and to stipulate, not only for his own time, but for the time of the Dauphin. The consequence

quence and the difficulty of the business were equally great, more especially as it was known that the traversing of this alliance was the capital point both of the King of Spain and of the Duke of Savoy, the former a very potent, the latter the most politic prince of the age. The statesmen hitherto employed had, with all their reasonings, made no great progress; the sending of Biron shewed the King's penetration, and that he really knew him better than any body, perhaps better than he knew himself. His martial disposition, his open, artless manner of talking, his frankness, generosity, and magnificence, wrought upon the Swiss, and gave such weight to his arguments, that they could refuse him nothing. In short, he carried his point; the terms of the treaty were settled, the reducing it into form was to be left to others. This was the last service that Biron rendered the King and the Crown of France; therefore, we need not be surprised that, having thus spent the spring, it seems a little hard and ungrateful that the King should cause the head of this great man to be struck off a little after Midsummer.

A. D.
1601.

1602.

Indistinct rumours had for some time been circulated through the provinces; the King lost his usual good humour; the Court had nothing in it of gaiety; councils met often, and were long assembled, without people's knowing the true causes; a circumstance which gave occasion to a variety of rumours that heightened the general perplexity.

Embarrass-
ment of the
King.

A. D.
1602.

perplexity. The King met with fresh sources of uneasiness, which ever way he turned. Several of the great lords retired, some to their governments, and some to their estates. The clergy complained that bishopricks and benefices were bestowed at the recommendation of women, and sometimes upon children: the nobility and gentry exclaimed that they were little considered, and that, since the settlement of the kingdom, the men of the long robe had engrossed all employments, and with them the King's favour. The Hugonots were as much discontented as any: they thought that the King was estranged from them, and that whatever respect was shown them, arose more from fear than inclination. The bulk of the people began to murmur. Among other impositions laid by the assembly at Rouen, was one called the *pancart*, which was held in universal execration: it consisted in levying a sous in the livre upon all kinds of provisions that entered into cities and great towns; and a *pancart*, or table, shewing after what rate these sums were to be collected, was hung up at every gate. Insurrections happened in several places; the King went to Blois, and from thence to Poitiers, that he might put an end to these murmurs. His presence, and some acts of severity, had that effect; the new imposition was everywhere levied, and immediately an edict issued, in which, after acknowledging and applauding the submission

submission of his subjects, the King abolished the tax.

A. D.
1602.



He was convinced that several of his own subjects had conspired against his person and government; and, when he came to look more closely into particulars, he saw reason to doubt whether he had a friend left, the list of the malcontents was so numerous, and the Baron of Rhosny's name stood there amongst the rest. In the midst of all these troubles, that which he feared most fell upon him; a domestic quarrel, which once rose so high, that he had thoughts of parting with the Queen, or at least of obliging her to discard all her Italians, people equally hateful and hated in France. He was dissuaded from this step by the Baron de Rhosny; and, at the time he gave him the advice, Henry told him he would repent it.

On the other hand, the King and his Ministers were not without their faults; the dissolute life that he led, of course rendered him contemptible: but while kings are men, what they do as men will affect their characters as kings. The Duke of Bouillon told the King this truth, upon his expostulating with him, being one of those of whom he had the most suspicion. The King, for this reason, pressed him to remain at Court for some time: he, with great dexterity, offered to go and put his private affairs in order, that he might remain continually about his person; and under this pretence

A. D.
1602.

The King's
suspicions of
Marshal Bi-
ron.

pretence he got out of his reach. The Duke d'Espernon acted a wiser part: when the King made him the same proposition, he closed with it readily; and, without making any compliment, said he would stay with his Majesty six months; and he performed punctually what he promised. The great point was to get the Marshal Biron into his hands, of whose treasons he had abundant evidence. La Fin, who had been the principal instrument in conducting them, having made his peace by an ample discovery, the truth of which he justified by producing original papers in the Duke's own hand, which had been committed to his care, that they might remain safe. The Duke had another great agent at Court, the Baron de Lux, who was very faithful to him, and whom the King took care to amuse, as La Fin likewise did, by assuring him that he had imposed upon the ministers by false informations, and that the Marshal had nothing to do but to make use of the time he had gained to put his affairs into such a condition, as that, notwithstanding the King's suspicions, he might have nothing to fear.

When M. de Biron had finished the object of his embassy to Switzerland, he retired to his government of Burgundy, having put into most of the strong places governors upon whom he might depend. The King, who could no longer bear that state of uncertainty in which he lived, sent him an order to come to Court, which he declined, under pretence

A. D.
1602.

pretence that the Spaniards intending to march a great body of troops through Franche Comté into the Low Countreys, his presence was absolutely necessary in Burgundy. The King, disliking this excuse, sent to him the president Jean-nin, and the Baron de Lux, who was in his secrets and in his interest, whom the King had taken pains to deceive, by throwing out kind expressions of the Marshal in his hearing. At the request of these two persons, the Marshal resolved to go to Fontainbleau, through a persuasion that the King held him innocent, or at least had only suspicions. One circumstance that had great weight with him, was the finding his fortresses defenceless, through the dexterity of Rhosny, who, in quality of Master of the Ordnance, had concerted with him the recasting all the artillery in those places, and had desired that he would send his agent to Lyons, to see the new pieces embarked the same day the old were sent out of Burgundy; but causing the former to be stopped on the road, the Marshal found himself disarmed, and swore revenge against Rhosny. When he drew near the Court, he was met by a person of confidence from the Duke of Espernon, who told him that it was his master's advice, if he knew himself faulty, to have recourse to the King's clemency. He looked upon this hint as a reproach, laid his hand upon his sword, and threatened destruction to his accusers. He arrived on the 13th of June at Fontainbleau.

A. D.
1602.



He was received, in appearance, very kindly by the King, who pressed him thrice that day to deal ingenuously with him, and sent the Baron de Rhosny and the Count de Soissons to him, but to no purpose. Henry was extremely unwilling to make a person who had served him so well, and so lately, the victim of these intrigues; but the Marshal insisting on his innocence, demanding the names of his accusers, and at length mingling threats with his protestations, the King determined, after he had laid his proofs before his council, to cause him and the Count d'Auvergne to be arrested. At their last conference, he said to the Marshal, "You know what I have told you; adieu, Baron de Biron." As he retired out of the King's cabinet, he was arrested by Vitry, Captain of the King's guard, as the Count d'Auvergne was in another part of the place; both were prepared to make their escape that night, in consequence of private letters from their friends.

Biron sent
to the Bastille.

They were instantly conveyed by water to the Bastille, and the King went to Paris the same day. On the 18th of July, he directed a commission to the Parliament to make the Marshal's process. Biron behaved wildly before the committee that examined him, sometimes denying all, sometimes acknowledging more than could be proved. When the Sieur de la Fin was first produced, he acknowledged him for a man of honour, his friend, and his relation; but when he heard his deposition, he charged

charged him, truly enough, with crimes the most infamous. He said, however, that if the secretary of this man had been living, whom the old Duke of Savoy had seized, and, as he thought, put to death, he would have justified his innocence and La Fin's guilt. Upon this assertion, that very secretary, who had made his escape out of a dungeon, was produced; a circumstance which disconcerted the Marshal extremely, who concluded from thence that he was betrayed by the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy. His own secretary Attebert, and a multitude of papers in his own hand-writing, were also produced. On the 27th of the same month he appeared before all the chambers of the Parliament assembled, of whom there were a hundred and twenty judges present; but, though they had been twice summoned, yet none of the peers would assist. The Marshal had now recollected himself, and behaved quite otherwise than he had hitherto done. He made a long and eloquent speech, in which he set forth his services; insisted, that these were realities, whereas what he was charged with, were only hasty expressions, ambitious dreams, and political vapours, that had never manifested themselves in facts. His discourse was so moving, that the first president and many of the judges wept. If they had proceeded to the vote that evening, many believe that his life would have been saved; but, being late, it was deferred, and on the 29th,

A. D.
1602.

His trial,

A. D.
1597.

and execu-
tion.

which was the next sitting, because Sunday intervened, they unanimously adjudged him to death. He suffered on the last day of the month, within the Bastille, in great confusion, and without shewing any marks of that intrepidity for which he had been so highly and so justly famous. The Baron de Fontenelle was broke alive upon the wheel as his accomplice; the Count d'Auvergne, through the entreaties of his sister (Madame d'Entragues), and on account of his being the last male of the House of Valois, was pardoned and restored to favour. The Baron de Lux, who was in all Biron's secrets, surrendered after his death, and made such discoveries as the King took care to conceal.

CHAPTER XL.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY IV.

Edict against Duelling—The King establishes the silk trade—He is reconciled to the Jesuits—Death of Elizabeth, Queen of England—His treaty with James the First—Dispute with Spain.—Henry's domestic disagreements—Rochelle satisfied—Attempt to assassinate him—The Duke de Bouillon reconciled to the King—The King narrowly escapes being drowned—Birth of the Duke of Orleans—The King's credit with the Protestants—Truce between the Dutch and the Spaniards—His desire of establishing a system of general peace—His passion for the Princess of Condé—His assassination by Raviliac.

HENRY was congratulated on his escape by England, Scotland, Spain, Savoy, and the Swifs. Henry caused several edicts to be made, which were of public benefit: amongst them was one against duelling, ordering that all disputes on points of honour should be referred to the Constable and Marshals of France; and all those who, in contempt of this edict, attempted to do justice to themselves, were declared guilty of high treason. It was certainly, high time that such a law should be made, since, in one year, more than four thousand gentlemen had fallen in such quarrels: but after all it had little effect, for which the King was deservedly blamed, because he

A. D.
1602

Edict against
duelling.

A. D. 1602. had spoke flightingly of some gentlemen who refused challenges.

In a very little time after, the King took the first steps to establish the silk trade in his dominions. This measure was entirely due to his own judgment and penetration, his great minister Rhosny having opposed it with all his eloquence. The King's love for his people in general rendered him a superior politician. He did not restrain his cares to this or that body of his subjects, but made the happiness of them all his capital study. His argument to the Baron de Rhosny was, that the common people in France were idle, and therefore miserable; he thought it his duty to introduce industry, and of that particular kind that was likely to reward them most effectually: for Henry was one of those few princes that desired to see all his subjects live at their ease. His intentions were crowned with success; and he had the satisfaction of seeing the silk manufacture, in his own time, bring more money into the kingdom than nearly the whole of those articles which were styled staple commodities.

1603: Early in the year the King made a tour to Metz, where the Duke of Espenon, as governor, and his two lieutenants, miserably oppressed the people. Henry removed both the last, and substituted officers of his own. It was in this journey that he received the Jesuits into his favour, and promised to effect their return into France; which he accomplished by the assistance of the Pope, and

The King is reconciled to the Jesuits.

and the exertion of his own power. He went from Metz to Nancy in Lorraine, to visit his sister, the Duchess of Bar; and would have remained longer in those parts, but for the news of the death of Queen Elizabeth, which affected him extremely. In the beginning of the month of May, he was seized with a retention of urine, which reduced him to the last extremity: however, by the strength of nature, and the skill of his physicians, he happily recovered. He sent over his great minister the Baron, now Marquis de Rhosny, to negotiate with King James; which he did very effectually, since, in the space of a very few weeks, he settled a treaty, which was signed at Hampton Court on the 30th of July, for the succour of the States, as well as for the reciprocal assistance of the two Kings, in case either of their dominions should be attacked.

A. D.
1603.

Death of
Elizabeth,
Queen of
England.

Henry's
treaty with
James I.

This year he granted letters patent for the establishment of Canada, in which he again differed with Rhosny, who declared roundly that all settlements above the fortieth degree of latitude could be of no utility, and that all the pretended advantages insisted upon in their favour were but so many commercial chimeras. In this instance, the minister was in some degree right; for it is a well-known truth, that Canada was never of any service to France. The canal of Briare was likewise begun this year, for uniting the Loire with the Seine. It is really amazing how, in the midst of so many great and perplexing affairs, Henry could turn his

A. D.
1603.

thoughts to things of this nature, discern their utility, and resolve to break in upon his great scheme of saving, not for his own pleasure or convenience, but for the common benefit of his subjects. Upon this principle, likewise, the necessary assistance was given for setting on foot a manufacture of crystal glass, and for encouraging strangers, who were to be employed in this and other works of the same kind,

1604.
Spain's
treaty with
James I.

In the year 1604, Spain concluded a treaty with England; but James took care that this should be without prejudice to the defensive league with France. However the Spaniards, deviating from their ordinary maxims, and perceiving that they were losers by the French trade, took a very bold step, and imposed a duty of thirty per cent. on all French commodities at once. Henry was so much piqued at this, that, notwithstanding his affairs were not yet in the best posture, the public debts having been estimated at three hundred and thirty millions, he made no scruple of expressing his resentment by prohibiting all commerce with Spain, which was a measure which that court did not expect: as a war was by no means their aim, they had recourse to their usual method of procuring the Pope's interposition, and, in consequence of that, a negotiation, which ended in removing the new duty, and recalling the prohibition which that had occasioned.

and quarrel
with France.

In

In the mean time, the King's domestic affairs gave him at least as much trouble as those of his government: in that the jealousies of the Papists created continual perplexities; in this he was equally disturbed by the resentments of the Queen, and the humours of his mistress, so that he might be truly said never to enjoy a quiet moment. As to the Queen, she not only made him unhappy by fits of jealousy, starts of passion, and whole days of ill humour; but the Italians she had about her were perpetually putting new demands in her head, turning every thing to profit, and, among the rest, selling whatever secrets they could hear to the emissaries of Spain. As for Madame d'Entragues, now become Marchioness de Verneuil, she was grown infinitely more insupportable; she treated Henry with insolence, and the Queen with contempt. She mimicked her aukward air, her broken pronunciation, and every little foible, to the King's face. Sometimes she gave broad hints that her own children were as well born as the Queen's; sometimes she told the King he was grown old and suspicious; and sometimes her conscience was so troublesome, that she could not think of living any longer with him in this manner. At length Henry, quite tired out, took this arrogant woman at her word, resolved to part with her, and, to gratify the Queen, purchased that promise of marriage, which had been the source of much discord, by the payment of twenty thousand crowns

A. D.
1604.

Henry's domestic disagreements.

A. D.
1604.

crowns in ready money, and the promise of the staff of Marshal of France to M. d'Entragues her father, who had never been in the field.

While things were in this situation, a new scene of treason was discovered, in which the mistress and her whole family were engaged. The first opening was by some intercepted letter to the Count d'Auvergne, who, when pardoned for the share he had in Biron's conspiracy, voluntarily undertook to act as a spy on the Court of Spain, and, under colour of carrying on a correspondence for this purpose, betrayed the secrets of the Court of France. His own suspicions induced him to fly into Auvergne, where he endeavoured to avoid being seized; but his precautions failed, and, being apprehended at a review, he was sent prisoner to the Bastille, and placed in the same room where Marshal Biron had been confined. It quickly appeared that his sister had a share in his correspondencies; and that, under pretence of breaking with the King, she meant to retire into England with her children, having held a correspondence there with the Spanish Ambassador: upon this detection her father and mother were sent to prison, and she was confined to her own house. The King seemed to be extremely irritated, and fully determined to leave the criminals to the severity of the law, and, with this view, ordered the parliament to form their process. He continued in the mean time, in the midst of these perplexities, to pursue steadily, and with unwearied application, the schemes

which had been formed for discharging the debts of the crown, and restoring order and justice in the provinces.

A. D.

64.

The process against the great criminals was quickly dispatched by parliament. The Count d'Auvergne threw all the blame upon his sister; and she, in return, threw it back upon him. Old Entragues acted with greater firmness and dignity, taking every thing upon himself, that the load might fall lighter elsewhere. On the 1st of February, this great cause was decided: the Count M. d'Entragues, and one Mr. Morgan an Englishman, who had been embarked in these affairs, were condemned to lose their heads; as for the Marchioness, her sentence was, to pass the remainder of her days in a monastery. But none of these judgements were executed; the King commuted the punishment of the Count d'Auvergne, into imprisonment for life; old Entragues was ordered to retire to his own estate, and Morgan banished the kingdom. These disturbances were succeeded by others: the King received advices of some intrigues in Perigord, Querci, and Guienne. Queen Margaret of Valois furnished all the lights they could desire, which gave great satisfaction to the King, who bestowed upon her the greatest part of the Count d'Auvergne's forfeiture, and gave her leave to reside at Paris, which she had much at heart. These commotions, in which the Spaniards had also a share, and for promoting which they had advanced

A. D.
1604.Rochelle
satisfied.

advanced sums of money, cost some gentlemen their lives. Henry, however, thought it necessary to advance with a corps of troops and some judges into the provinces. In his progress he passed near the town of Rochelle, who sent deputies to compliment him. They presented the keys of the place to his Majesty, and told him that, though at the head of a Catholic army, his presence would be no less welcome to the inhabitants, than when they had the honour to be in arms for his service; and that, if their gates were too narrow, they were ready to beat down their walls to give him entrance. The King, struck with this unexpected compliment, went thither, was extremely pleased with his reception, and left the people of Rochelle perfectly well satisfied with the testimonies he gave them of his affection.

A galley-slave at Marseilles informed the Duke of Guise, that one M. Mariargues, a person of rank, who, next year was to be viguer, or *prime magistrate*, had communicated to him a design of betraying the city to the Spaniards. The rank of the accuser, and the condition of the accused, rendered the charge very improbable. The States of Provence meeting soon after, Mariargues was deputed to carry their resolutions to the Court, and being there carefully watched, it was very soon found that he had in reality a close correspondence with Zuniga the Spanish Ambassador. He was arrested in his own lodgings, in close conference

with Bruneau, the Ambassadør's secretary, in whose stocking a memorial was found, containing the services expected from Mariargues, who was beheaded on the 19th of December, and his body quartered for this offence. The same day, as the King was passing over Pont Neuf, a man slipped between the guards, caught hold of his arm, and pulled him backward on his horse, having a dagger drawn in the other hand, with which he would have dispatched him; but he was presently seized by the King's servants, and appeared to be John de Lisle. When he came to be examined, he said he was King of the whole world, and Henry kept a part of his territories from him. Upon enquiry he was found to have been many years mad; upon which the King ordered him to be maintained and confined.

A. D.
1604.

Attempt to
assassinate
the King.

The King, being tired of civil war, resolved, if possible, to put an end to all sources of that kind, and, if his health permitted, for he was now much troubled with the gout, to march to Sedan, in order to convince the Duke of Bouillon that he was a subject. He however judged it necessary, to raise the Marquis de Rhosny, who he intended should command the army, in case he found it inexpedient to go in person, to a superior rank, and accordingly created him Duke and Peer of France, by the title of *Duke of Sully*, the name of one of his estates, in which quality he was received by the parliament at the end of February. The King, immediately

1606.
Duke de
Bouillon re-
conciled to
the King.

A. D.
1606.

immediately after, declared his intentions to employ his arms against Sedan, and ordered Sully to prepare a competent train of artillery for that enterprise. It was four years since that prince had been at court; and during that time he had contracted close engagements with several of the Princes of Germany, whose intercession, he hoped, would have had some weight with the King; but Henry, having rejected something of the like nature from the Swiss Cantons, the Duke did not find it easy to get other potentates to interpose. He wanted not, however, mediators at court; the Queen and Villeroy interceded for him; and when the King, with his army of twenty-five thousand men, had advanced within a league of Sedan, the Duke demanded a treaty, which was concluded on the last of April. By this the Duke consented that the King should put a garrison into Sedan for four years; and on the other hand, the King granted him an oblivion of whatever he might have said or done, which was to be verified in parliament. The treaty was no sooner concluded, than the Duke came to pay his respects to the King, who afterwards made his public entry into Sedan, remained there a few days, and then returned in triumph to Paris. The Duke of Bouillon, soon after, followed him thither, and, to the surprise of all the world, was not only very kindly received, but entered so far into the King's good

good graces, that, in a month's time, the King withdrew his garrison out of Sedan, and left the Duke in the very same situation in which he found him.

A. D.
1606.

In the midst of these favourable incidents, when the King seemed more at ease than at any time during his reign, an unlucky accident was very near putting an end to his life. In returning from St. Germain's, where he had been to see his children, having with him in the coach the Queen, the Duke de Vendosme, the Duke de Montpensier, and the Princess of Conti; the horses, in going into the ferry-boat, fell into the water, and pulled in the coach, by which they were all in peril of their lives. The King delivered himself by swimming; the Sieur de Chasteneraye, with great difficulty, drew out the Queen by the hair; for which service, besides a present in jewels and an annual pension, he had soon after a company of the guards.

The King narrowly escapes being drowned

The birth of the Duke of Orleans, on the 16th of April, gave the King great satisfaction, as it fortified the succession, and contributed, as he conceived, to his ease and safety, from a persuasion that the Spaniards would be less inclined to enter into intrigues, when they saw his family daily increase. It relieved him also from some other inquietudes, and made it less necessary for him to dissemble with the Princes of the Blood, who were none

Birth of the Duke of Orleans.

A. D.

1606.

none of them much in his favour. The Prince of Conti, the eldest, was far from being a man of great parts, and, besides, almost deaf. The Prince of Condé, his nephew, who, till the birth of the Dauphin, had been looked upon as the presumptive successor, was young and wild. The Count de Soissons, brother to the Prince of Conti, did not want understanding; but he had a kind of Spanish gravity, and was so extremely sensible of his own high quality, that the King, who was of quite a different temper, had never any affection for him, though, upon some occasions, that Prince had rendered him service. The disputes in his councils ran sometimes very high; the Keeper of the Seals, Sillery, and the Secretary Villeroy, were always on one side, and the Duke of Sully on the other. The latter considered the former as creatures of the Court of Rome, and no great enemies to the Spaniards. On the other hand, they sometimes made the King acquainted with the murmurs of his people against the taxes, and were not always favourable to Sully's projects for squeezing the financiers, an expedient to which he had recourse almost every year; yet many of them, after having passed many of these purgations, died immensely rich; a circumstance which shows to how a great a degree the poor people must have suffered, since the King was also in possession of a greater treasure than any of his predecessors. The Protestants held this year a synod at Rochelle, where the Duke de Sully rendered

The King's
credit with
the Protest-
ants.

dered the King great service ; for, though many of the Protestants thought him too little attached to their party, yet they seldom heard his apologies without being convinced ; knowing, at the same time, that he was thoroughly hated by all the zealous of the Popish party, and by the remains of the Spanish faction, who were now in too great credit at Court.

A. D.
1606.

The great affair now upon the carpet was the negociation in Holland, not only with regard to the Powers immediately concerned, but in respect to France, England, and more remotely to all Europe. The King and his Ministers were at first averse to a peace ; but finding that Barnevelt, and the Patriots in Holland, were bent upon it, they held it advantageous for them that it should be treated under their mediation, in conjunction with the King of Great-Britain. The ministers charged with the management of this important affair, on the part of France, were, the President Jeanin, and Monsieur Buzenval, the former one of the best negociators in France, and the latter a man of great abilities. But the States, believing it highly necessary to convince the Spaniards, that they had not either tired out, or disobliged, their friends, were very desirous of concluding a new defensive alliance with France and England, that it might appear they had something to trust to, in case the negociation should fail, or should be ill observed on the part of Spain, in case it took effect. This

1607.

Truce between the Dutch and the Spaniards.

A. D.
1607.



affair was drawn into a great length; but, in the beginning of the year, his Britannic Majesty not being yet ready, such an alliance was concluded between France and the States-General, being indeed very suitable to both their interests; for, though the Spanish power was much declined, and Philip the Third had not either the spirit or the application of his father, yet, so long as any of the generals or statesmen of the old Court remained, the Spanish power was still formidable to its neighbours. Henry, therefore, very wisely chose to have the dominions of the States for his barrier, and, by this act of complaisance, to attach them the more strongly to his alliance, which was so much the more necessary, as their naval power was becoming every day the more considerable, in which point France was still very deficient.

When the King found that Barnevelt, who was the oracle of the States, otherwise inclined, he changed his measures; and, since he could not direct a war, sent his ministers to manage a peace, in which they acted with great dignity and discretion, till, finding it absolutely impracticable, they made another turn, and negotiated a truce for twelve years, which they brought to bear almost against the sentiments of both parties. Maurice, Prince of Orange, who had very quick parts, temperised as long as he thought the negociation impracticable; but, as soon as he saw it was likely to be brought to a conclusion, he opposed it vehemently,

A. D. 1
1607.

mently, yet without being able to carry his point. After all, the truce was concluded upon terms which the Spaniards were glad to accept, though highly advantageous to the States, their sovereignty being unequivocally acknowledged. This measure was very honourable for the French ministers, more especially the President Jeanin, and very acceptable to the Court of Great-Britain, who hoped to obtain part at least of that immense debt which was due from the United Provinces.

Unfortunately for Henry there was, and had been for some time, a Catholic faction in his council, composed of able and active men, who could not bear to see the Protestants enjoy the public profession of their religion, and, in the person of Sully, the peculiar confidence of the King. These people had insinuated to the Queen, who was a bigot to her religion, that she could expect no safety to herself, or to her children, but by putting herself at the head of the Catholics, engaging the King to change his system, and unite in a close alliance with Rome and Spain. The Queen was the more ready to fall in with these sentiments, from the knowledge of the intrigues between the Marchioness and the Court of Madrid, and a desire of detaching the Catholic King from the support of that lady and her family, as well as to unite the views of that Court to her own. Whatever the motives were, the fact is certain, that the Queen had her agents at the Court of Spain, who seemed

A. D.
1607.

better informed of what passed in the French cabinet, than the French minister at Madrid—a circumstance which, when it came to Henry's knowledge, affected him exceedingly, more especially when he saw what an influence it had upon his own subjects; and that a Jesuit, who preached before him, had the assurance, under colour of refuting the position held by many Protestants, that the Pope is antichrist, to cry out, in his pulpit, "If the Pope be truly antichrist, what becomes of your abjuration and absolution? What validity is the dissolution of your marriage? What of the legality of your second espousals? Or what will be thought of the legitimacy of the Dauphin?" The double marriage was the common topic of discourse at both Courts; and yet it was the farthest of any thing from the King's inclinations, who feared the friendship of Spain more than the resentment of any other Power. These circumstances did not only disturb and distract him in the management of his own affairs, but likewise affected him with regard to his allies, by raising great jealousies in England and Holland, and by exciting a suspicion of a duplicity in his conduct, which very much lessened that confidence he had hitherto been treated with by both nations, and which, as he was perfectly sincere, he had undoubtedly merited.

Henry was persuaded that the House of Austria meant nothing less than universal monarchy; and, if he had entertained any doubts of it before, the projects

projects they concerted with Marshal Biron, the Count d'Auvergne, and Marshal Bouillon, appeared to him in the light of certain evidence: he resolved therefore to return by all means the usage he had received, to sap the very foundation of this House's greatness, to emancipate the German Princes, to restore the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary to their entire right of election, to circumscribe the Imperial authority, while it remained in the princes of the family, to restore the Electors to their freedom, and to prescribe to Spain the bounds which Nature seemed to have intended: but he knew very well that this was not to be done while France remained in that broken, weak, and embarrassed condition, exhausted in strength, her coffers empty, and her people more than ever prone to discord and disaffection. He laboured therefore to remove all these difficulties; and he laboured with great success. The King conceived that the Powers of Europe might be reduced into a kind of Christian commonwealth, by rendering them as nearly as possible of equal strength; and that this republic might be maintained in perpetual peace, by bringing all their differences to be decided before a senate of wise, able, and disinterested judges; and then he conceived it would be no difficult matter to overturn the Ottoman Empire. The number of these Powers was to be fifteen, viz. the Papacy, the Empire of Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, Great-Britain, Bohemia, Lombardy,

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Poland,

A. D.
1607.

Henry's desire of establishing a system of general peace.

A. D.
1607.

Poland, Sweden, Denmark, the Republic of Venice, the States-General, the Swiss Cantons, and the Italian commonwealth, which was to comprehend the States of Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Modena, Parma, Mantua, and Monaco. In order to render the States equal, the empire was to be given to the Duke of Bavaria, the kingdom of Naples to the Pope, that of Sicily to the Venetians; Milan to the Duke of Savoy, who, by this acquisition, was to become King of Lombardy: the Austrian Low Countries were to be added to the Dutch republic; Franche Comté, Alsace, and the country of Trent, were to be given to the Swiss. By this distribution Henry reserved nothing to himself but the glory resulting from so great an action, and the satisfaction of seeing Europe, or rather Christendom, freed, for the future, from discord and from war. Statesmen of a cooler turn have conceived this in the light of an agreeable vision, contrived by the King to recommend this serious and single scheme of pulling down the House of Austria, by uniting in it princes of every rank, and every part of Europe, and of all the religions which held the fundamentals of Christianity. Henry certainly despaired of either peace or safety, so long as the House of Austria possessed the power of hurting him. It was this consideration that gave him an absolute disrelish of the double marriage, which appeared so desirable a thing to the Queen, and some of his council; whereas he intended to marry the Dauphin

to

to the heirefs of Lorrain, and to have given a daughter of his to the Prince of Piedmont. It will not here be improper to explain what were called the ten wifhes of Henry the Fourth, which he fo often mentioned, that the phrafe became proverbial. He faid he had earneftly defired of God, 1. His grace and fpiritual affiftance; 2. The prefervation of his fenfe and ftrength to the hour of his death; 3. To fee the Proteftant religion, though he had quitted it, placed on a fecure bafis; 4. To be feparated from his firft wife, and be joined in marriage with fome other, with whom he might live in peace, and educate his children himfelf; 5. To reftore France to its ancient fplendour; 6. To recover from Spain either Navarre or Flanders and Artois; 7. To gain a battle in perfon againft the King of Spain, and another againft the Grand Seignior; 8. To reduce his Proteftant fubjects to obedience without recurring to force; 9. To fee the Dukes of Efperton, Bouillon, and Tremouille, reduced to implore his clemency; 10. To be enabled to execute his great defign, the only wifh he concealed.

A. D.
1607.

But, in the midft of thefe negociations and preparations, another incident fell out, which, it is likely, might quicken the King's motions. The King's paffion for the Princefs of Condé, which he purfued with all the vehemence and indifcretion of a young man, had very much changed the face of affairs at Court; for the Queen and the Mar-

His paffion
for the Prin-
cefs of Condé

A. D.
1608.

chionefs de Vernueil, who, in the ſpring of the year, were more embroiled than ever, being equally provoked, either began to hate one another leſs, or at leaſt ſeemed to do ſo, and bent their endeavours to defeat the progreſs of the King's new amour. The Prince of Condé, whoſe jealouſy diſtracted him, that he might have a pretence for withdrawing the Princeſs from Court, went into Picardy in the autumn, and left her at Breteuil, where the King going to make her a viſit in diſguiſe, his folly, by accident becoming publicly known, grew the common topic of diſcourſe at Paris. The Prince, returning ſoon after, was given to underſtand, that, in order to put an end to theſe injurious reports, it was expected he ſhould bring back the Princeſs to Court. He ſeemed to liſten to the arguments offered on this head. Having taken all the precautions neceſſary, he, under pretence of going to fetch her, took her from the place where ſhe was, and, on the laſt day of November, carried her to Landrecy, in the territories of the Archduke. At this ſtep the King was ſo much alarmed, and provoked, that he inſtantly diſpatched Monsieur Praſlin, captain of his guard, with ſo rough a meſſage to the Archduke Albert, that he began to doubt whether he ſhould give them protection, and would have probably declined it, but that the Marquis Spinola, who had the confidence of the Spaniſh Court, determined him to change his conduct, and to ſend for them to Bruffels.

A. D.
1609.

Brussels. Upon this the King sent the Marquis de Cœuvres, who was a great favourite with the Prince, to try if he could persuade him to return, and, if he failed in that, to carry away the Princess. The pretence for executing this scheme was the command of her father the Constable, that she might be put into the hands of Madame d'Angoulême, with whom she had been brought up. The plan was so well laid, that the King thought it impossible to fail; and, in the joy of his heart, most unaccountably told it to the Queen, who seemed to be very well pleased with the news, and certainly was so with the discovery. This she immediately communicated to the Nuncio Ubaldini, and pressed him to send a courier immediately, with advice of it, to the Marquis Spinola. The courier arrived at Brussels a little before noon, on the very day in the evening of which the Princess was to be carried away; and the only expedient that could be found to prevent it, was for the Archduchess to take her immediately under her own care, and lodge her in the palace. The King bore this disappointment with great impatience; and, as his military preparations were carried on with extraordinary vigour in the midst of these transactions, it is no great wonder that, at the time, the world in general, and the populace more especially, should attribute to this amour a war, the reasons of which they did not understand, or that this opinion should be countenanced

A. D.
1609.



1610.

tenanced, after the King's death, by such as were wise enough to penetrate the real motives.

The new year discovered the grandeur of the King's project, and the means taken to carry it into execution : he had an army of forty thousand men, composed, for the most part, of old troops, and commanded by officers of great experience, exclusive of six thousand Swiss who were to join them on the frontiers, and four thousand of the Noblesse, who were to attend the King to the army, which was to assemble at Chalons, about the middle of May. The negociations requisite for the general league were conducted with the greatest silence. The Princes of Germany held an assembly in spite of the Emperor, in which they approved the King's proposal for restoring the liberty of the empire. In England his minister met with no less success ; and the Italian Princes shewed a strong inclination to accept the offers that were made them, to concur in his design.

But a new and fresh difficulty started up, which gave the King infinite concern, and disturbed him more than all the mighty projects that were now upon the carpet ; this was, the earnest desire the Queen had to be solemnly crowned. Whence this desire arose, cannot, with any certainty, be determined ; but that she used many plausible pretences, cannot be denied. She was a Princess not easily dissuaded from any thing she had once resolved upon ; and the King was not of a disposition to refuse her request,

A. D.
1610.

quest, though it was ever so much against his own sense of things. There were besides many other persons to whom a ceremony of this kind was very displeasing, particularly Queen Margaret, who could not refuse to assist thereat, without injuring the Queen's character, or be present without debasing her own. The Count de Soissons had his discontents, which affected him to such a degree, that he retired from Court. However, nothing equaled the King's disquiet, more especially after he had given the orders in consequence of the Queen's importunity, when the day was fixed. If we may credit the Duke of Sully, Henry was more distressed and disordered, with the thoughts of this coronation, than with any thing that had happened to him through his whole life. He went so far as to presage he should not survive it; that he should never live to get out of Paris, where he thought himself less safe than at the head of his army; and yet he could not bring himself to countermand the orders he had given, or to resolve not to take a share in that idle pomp, of which he had such a dread. It was supposed that this arose from the rumours that were spread, of conspiracies formed against his person: they had at this time advices from more than twenty places, that such a design was then in agitation. As to these rumours, and a variety of prognostics, many of which, very possibly, were invented after the tragedy of the King's death, we shall say nothing. But, with respect to the King's apprehensions,

A. D.
1610.

apprehensions, and the public rumours, they are facts that cannot be denied; and therefore it is necessary to mention them, though they are matters for which we can give no rational account. The Duke of Sully tells us, the King expressly declared to him, he had been forewarned that he should be killed in some public ceremony in a coach; and that it was this circumstance that made him so much abhor the thoughts of this cursed coronation: this was the reason of his starting, and being so much alarmed even at the slightest jolting in a coach, though he had the greatest steadiness and presence of mind in the midst of the most imminent dangers.

On the 12th of May, through the extreme importunity of the Queen, solemn proclamation was made, that next day, which was Thursday, the Queen would be publicly crowned at St. Denis. The ceremony was accordingly performed by Cardinal Joyeuse, with all possible order and magnificence; the Queen appearing extremely gay and well pleased. The Sunday following was fixed for her public entry into Paris; for which vast preparations were made, many triumphal arches erected, with all the circumstances of parade which Henry always despised, and in which the Queen delighted. Next morning, which was Friday the 14th, the King was observed to pray longer than usual. When he came out of his closet, he sent to the Duke of Sully, to desire he would come and
speak

A. D.
1610.

ſpeak with him in the garden of the Tuilleries; but, being informed that the Duke was ill, and that the perſon he ſent had found him in the bath, he ſent him another meſſage, to come to him next morning, but in his night-gown and cap, that he might not catch cold. He went next day to hear maſs at the Feuillans, followed by Raviliac, who confeſſed his intention to have ſtabbed him there, but ſaid he was hindered by the Duke of Vendosme. After dinner, the King converſed ſome time with the Preſident Jeanin, and Monſieur Arnaud, Intendant of the Finances, about ſome reſormations he intended to make. After they left him, he grew extremely uneaſy, went to a window, and, leaning his head upon his arm, was heard to ſay ſoftly, “My God, what is this within me, that will not ſuffer me to be quiet?” About four o’clock he ordered his coach; in which having ſeated himſelf, he placed the Duke of Eſpernon next him, on the right hand; at the boot on that ſide ſat Meſſieurs de Ravardin and Roquelaur; oppoſite to them ſat the Duke de Montbazon and the Marquis de la Force; Monſieur de Liancourt, and the Marquis de Mirabeau, ſat forwards. The coachman aſking where he was to go, the King answered, “Drive me from hence.” Raviliac followed the coach, intending to have ſtruck him between the two gates, but was hindered by finding the Duke of Eſpernon where the King uſed to ſit.

When

A. D.
1610.

His assassi-
nation by
Raviliac.

When the coach was without the court of the King's palace, Henry cried, "Drive to the Cross of Tiroy." When he arrived at that place, he said, "To St. Innocent's church-yard:" turning into the Rue de la Ferroniere, which was then a very narrow street, by reason of the shops built against the wall of St. Innocent's church-yard, there was a stop occasioned by two carts, one loaded with wine, the other with hay. The King had before sent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might see the preparations for the Queen's entry, intending afterwards to have driven to the arsenal, to discourse with the Duke de Sully. The pages who followed the coach went round by the church-yard, except two, one who went before to clear the way, and the other stopped behind to garter up his stocking. Raviliac took this opportunity, mounted on the wheel, and, with a long knife, which cut with both sides, struck the King over the Duke of Espernon's shoulder, while that Monarch was listening to a letter the Duke was reading. The King, as most writers affirm, said, "I am wounded;" upon which the assassin struck him again with greater force; so that the knife, penetrating into his chest, divided the *vena cava*, and immediately deprived him of life. Some say, that he made a third stroke, and that one of the lords caught it upon his arm; but this circumstance is liable to great doubt. They were, on the contrary, so little acquainted how the thing was

done, that they did not so much as see the murderer ; so that, if he had thrown the knife under the coach, he might have passed on ; but he stood on the wheel like a statue, with the knife bloody in his hand ; till a gentleman who followed the coach, came up, seized him, and was going to put him to death ; when the Duke of Espernon prevented him, crying out, " Save him, on your life." He then directed that the coach-windows should be drawn up, and ordered the coachman to drive back to the Louvre, giving out that the King was wounded, but not dangerously.

As soon as the coach came to the palace, the King was carried into his cabinet, and laid upon a bed, where, as Mezeray says, the corpse was instantly abandoned by all the great people ; so that those who had a mind to see him, met with no interruption : only Monsieur le Grand Bassompierre, and the Duke of Guise, instead of going to pay their court, went to weep over their dead master, the Duke of Guise embracing him passionately. When his body was opened, it appeared that he had two wounds, one slight, and the other mortal ; but there is some doubt which was the first or the second. All the surgeons and physicians gave it as their opinion ; from the soundness of the vital parts, that the King might have lived many years. His entrails were immediately sent to St. Denis, and interred without ceremony ; his heart was delivered to the Jesuits, and deposited, according to his desire,
in

A. D.
1610.

A. D.
1610.

in their college at La Fleche, which he had founded: the body was embalmed, in order to be interred with the accustomed ceremonies. This melancholy scene put the Dukes of Espernon and Bellegarde in mind that their old master Henry III. was yet uninterred: upon which they went to the church of St. Cornelia, at Compeigne, and having brought away the coffin from thence, caused his remains to be buried, with great honour, at St. Denis, eight days before those of his successor, by which a prediction was verified, made, in all probability, after the fact. On the 29th of June the King's body was interred at the same place, with demonstrations of the deepest sorrow amongst the people, and with the universal concern of those in foreign nations who wished well to the liberties of Europe and the Protestant interest.

Thus ended the life of Henry, the fourth of that name, and the first of the House of Bourbon, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, the thirty-eighth of his reign over Navarre, and the twenty-first since his accession to the crown of France, to whom strangers, as well as his own subjects, gave the surname of Great; which was certainly due to him as a monarch, though not as a man.

Henry was of a middle stature, rather tall than short, his eyes lively, his nose aquiline, his complexion ruddy, his hair brown in his youth, but begun to turn grey at thirty-three. He had an excellent constitution; and, notwithstanding his
free

A. D.
1610.

free manner of living, enjoyed a good state of health, except that he was attacked sometimes by the gout. He was very gallant, and an exceeding good officer. He was naturally familiar; but, when it was necessary, could put on a very majestic air. Upon great occasions he shewed that he understood magnificence, though he did not love it. In general his speech was frank, and his habit plain. He was naturally eloquent, wrote well, and with great ease. He rallied very agreeably; and he bore not only that, but even reproofs without impatience, provided he thought they were well meant. His fortitude enabled him to overcome; and by his dexterity he often avoided danger. He loved his subjects, and did many things for their advantage: amongst others he encouraged manufactures and commerce, countenanced by his authority the sending ships to the West, and granted letters patent for establishing an East-India Company. With these great qualities he had also great failings; amongst which his passion for women was certainly the greatest. However, he did not suffer them to govern him; to recommend or discard his ministers. He was likewise too favourable in regard to duels; in which, though he made laws, yet he treated with contempt such as paid respect to them. He had a great passion for play, which had terrible consequences, as it rendered this destructive vice fashionable, which is alone sufficient to throw a kingdom into confusion. He

A. D.
1610.

also loved money; but then he knew how to use it; and having observed how much his predecessors suffered from the want of it, he was desirous of avoiding their misfortunes by a contrary conduct. He had, besides these failings, a mixture of levity and vanity in his temper; but it appears from his letters, that he knew his own foibles as well as any body; and that, how ill soever he succeeded, he studied to mend them. He affected popularity, and he acquired it; he dissembled without malice: on the contrary, he pardoned so readily, and so sincerely, that his bitterest enemies, at the time of his death, were become his firmest friends. By his first Queen, Margaret of Valois, he had never any issue; by his second, Mary de Medicis, he left three sons; the Dauphin, the Duke of Orleans, who died the year after him, and John Baptist Gaston, who bore the same title. He had also three daughters; Elizabeth, who became the consort of Philip the Fourth, King of Spain; Christina, who espoused Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy; and Henrietta Maria, who became Queen of England by her marriage with Charles the First.

In order to exhibit a particular account of the murder of Henry IV. it will be necessary not only to relate the fact, but to shew the motives from which it was committed; and these can only be deduced from the character and situation of the murderer, with which it is therefore proper to begin this relation.

Francis

A. D.
1610.

Francis Ravailac, the son of a practitioner in the law, was born at Angouleme, distant from Paris about 100 leagues. When he was very young he lived with one Rosieres, an advocate at Angouleme, whom he served as clerk and valet-de-chambre. He lived afterwards with several attorneys, the last of whom dying while he was in his service, he took a little lodging, and solicited law-suits for himself. This practice he continued several years, but with so little advantage, that at length he quitted it, and subsisted by instructing youth.

At this time his father and mother were parted, and were so indigent, that both subsisted chiefly on alms. Ravailac, who was then about thirty years old, and unmarried, lived with his mother, and becoming insolvent, was thrown into prison for debt.

He seems to have been naturally of a gloomy disposition, and enthusiastic turn of mind, which his misfortunes heightened to a degree of phrenzy. While he was in prison, he frequently fancied himself surrounded with fire, sulphur, and incense; and the same kind of delusions continued after he was released. He said, that on the Saturday night after Christmas 1609, having made his meditations as was his custom in bed, with his hands clasped and his feet crossed, he felt his mouth and face covered by some invisible agent, and was at the same time urged by an irresistible impulse to sing the psalms of David; he therefore sung the psalms *Dixit Do-*

A. D.
1610.

minus, Miserere, and de Profundis, quite through, and declared, that he seemed to himself to have a trumpet in his mouth, which made his voice shrill and loud as the sound of that instrument in war.

The next morning, as soon as he got out of bed, having made his meditation on his knees, and committed himself to God as his manner was, he sat down on a low chair before the hearth, and having combed his head, it not being yet light, he perceived one of the sticks still on fire : when he had dressed himself, he found part of a bundle of brush-wood, and putting it on the stick that was still burning, he kneeled down and began to blow it, in order to kindle the whole ; by the glimmering light of the fire, which brightened as he blew it, he fancied he saw on each side of his face, a great number of consecrated wafers or hosts, and below his face a roll of the same size with that which the priest elevates at the celebration of mass. Soon after he became a lay brother of the Feuillans ; but his habit was afterwards taken from him upon account of these visions, which gave him inexpressible concern.

While his mind was in this state, he often reflected on the King's breach of promise, in not compelling the Hugonots to return to the Catholic church ; and determined to go to Paris, to admonish him not to neglect this duty any longer.

He

A. D.
1610.

He accordingly set out from Angouleme, and in fourteen days arrived at Paris : when he came thither, he went several times to the Louvre, and applied to many persons to introduce him to his Majesty, but without effect. Among others, he applied to Father Daubigny, a Jesuit, after having heard him celebrate mass at a house of that Order near St. Anthony's Gate. To Daubigny he not only related his purpose to speak with the King, but his visions, and his desire to be restored to his Order, or to be admitted among the Jesuits. Daubigny, having heard all that he had to say, advised him to put all those things out of his head, to pray to God, and tell his beads.

Ravaillac pondered this answer in his mind, but could not relinquish his purpose of speaking to the King ; which, however, finding it impossible to execute, he went to Daubigny a second time, and shewed him a little knife, on which there was a heart and a cross, telling him at the same time, that the King should be disposed to make war against the Hugonots.

Daubigny regarding him as a lunatic, dismissed him with some slight answer ; and he still loitered about the palace in hopes of seeing the King.

It happened that some days afterwards he met his Majesty in his coach, near St. Innocent's church ; and, his desire to speak to him growing more ardent at the prospect of success, he ran to the coach-side, and cried out, " Sire, I speak to you in the

A. D.
1610.


name of our Lord Jesus and of the Holy Virgin ;” but the King put him back with a little stick, and would not hear him. After this repulse he conceived a design to kill the King, utterly despairing of producing any effect on his Majesty by admonition ; but, after having revolved this project often in his mind, he came to no determination as to the execution of it, and after some time returned to Angouleme.

Here he continued in a state of great solicitude and anxiety, sometimes considering his project to kill the King as meritorious, and sometimes as unlawful : at length, however, he went to hear mass at the monastery of the Franciscan Friars in Angouleme ; and going afterwards to confession, he confessed, among other things, an intention to murder, but did not say his intention was to murder the King ; nor did the confessor ask a more particular account of the fault.

His mind being still restless and perturbed, he went again to Paris ; and when he entered the city, his resolution to kill the King returned strong upon him : he therefore took a lodging in the suburbs of St. James’s, that he might be near the Louvre. This lodging, however, for some reason, he did not like, and went to a neighbouring inn, with a view to hire a chamber there, till he could execute his project. It happened, that in this inn there was no room for him ; but while he was talking with the man that kept it, he cast his eye upon
a knife,

a knife, sharp pointed and double-edged, with a whalebone handle, that lay on the table; and a thought instantly struck him, that this knife was very fit for the execution of his design: he therefore took an opportunity to convey it under his doublet; and having caused a new handle of bucks-horn to be put to it, he kept it in a bag in his pocket near three weeks.

A. D.
1610.

But after this he faltered in his resolution; and, at length renouncing it a second time, he set out on his journey home, and, as he went along, broke the point of the knife with which he had intended to commit the murder, against a cart near the garden of Chantaloup: but when he came to Estamps, he heard some soldiers talking, in an inn at which he put up for refreshment, about an intention of the King to make war upon the Pope, and to transfer the seat of the Holy See to Paris. Upon this, his resolution instantly and irresistibly returned; he went out of the house immediately; and having sharpened the point of the knife that he had broken, by rubbing it on a stone, he took the way back to Paris.

After he came to Paris a third time, he associated only with Friars of his own country, but to them he did not reveal his purpose; knowing that, whenever the public is concerned in any confession, the priest is obliged to reveal it. He seems however still to have been, in some degree, irresolute; for, in his confession to a Franciscan

A. D.
1610.

Friar, he asked, whether, if a man was assaulted with a temptation to kill a king, and should confess it to the penitentiary, the penitentiary would be under the necessity of revealing it; but to this question he received no answer, being interrupted, just as he put it, by another Friar of the Order.

Though he did not again relinquish his purpose, yet he still doubted whether it was not sinful; so that he would not receive the holy communion after he had determined to commit the fact, lest, this resolution having rendered him unworthy of the body of his Lord, he should receive it to his damnation.

Having no hope of getting admission to the King in the palace, he watched with unwearied assiduity at the gate for his coming out; and having at last, on the 17th of May, 1610, seen him into his coach, he followed it to the place where he had before attempted to speak to him and been repulsed: here the coach was stopped by two carts; and Ravailac, seeing the King lean on one side to speak to M. Espernon, who was with him in the coach, was so transported with enthusiastic phrenzy, that he thought he heard a voice say to him in an emphatic tone, "Now is the time—make haste, or it will be past;" upon which he ran up to the coach, and putting one foot on the spoke of the wheel, raised himself up, and drawing his knife at the same time, struck the King in the side; but finding that the knife stopped against one of the ribs,

ribs, and did not penetrate the King's body, he repeated his stroke, and gave him a mortal wound near the same place.

A. D.
1610.

The King crying out that he was slain, the attention of those about him was immediately turned on Ravailiac, who was instantly seized by one Paul Noster, an exempt of the guards, and protected from the rage of others who would have cut him to pieces upon the spot.

When he was searched, there was found upon him a paper, on which was painted the arms of France, with a lion on each side, one holding a key, the other a sword, over which he had written, in a distich, this sentence,

“ Do not suffer the name of God to be profaned in thy presence.”

There was also found a rosary, and a piece of costmary root in the shape of a heart, which he had obtained as a charm to cure him of a fever, from the Capuchins, who assured him, that there was, in the inside of it, a piece of the real cross of Jesus Christ, which, however, upon breaking it, proved to be false.

After some days he was examined by the President and several Commissioners of the Parliament, concerning his motives and his accomplices: of his motives he gave the same account that has been given above, and steadily and uniformly denied that he had any accomplice or abettor.

During

A. D.
1610.



During his examination he often wept, and said, that though he believed at the time when he killed the King, that it was a meritorious act, yet he was now convinced that he was permitted to fall into that delusion as a punishment for his sins; he expressed the utmost contrition for his fault, and implored God to give him grace sufficient to continue, till death, in good faith, lively hope, and perfect charity.

Being still urged to confess his accomplices, he replied with some indignation, that he was incapable of undertaking for money an act which he believed to be wicked, much less an act so heinous as the murder of his prince. He answered all other questions with great calmness and humility; and, when he signed his confession, he wrote under his name these lines,

*Que toujours en mon cœur
Jésus soit le vainqueur !*

In my heart let Jesus be always conqueror!

In a subsequent examination he was confronted with Daubigny, who denied that Ravailiac had ever spoken to him on any account. Ravailiac, however, insisted on the truth of what he had alleged, though, at the same time, he declared he thought Daubigny a good man, and that on this occasion his fear prevented him from declaring the truth.

But

But notwithstanding the constancy and uniformity with which he denied having any adviser, abettor, or associate, he was ordered to be put to the torture of the broderquin.

A. D.
1610.

The broderquin is a strong wooden box, made in the form of a boot, just big enough to contain both the legs of the criminal, which are put into it, and a wooden wedge is then driven in with a mallet between the knees; and after that is forced quite through, a second of a larger size is applied, and sometimes a third in the same manner.

This unhappy creature being sworn, was placed on a wooden bench, and his legs put into this machine.

The first wedge being driven, he cried out, "God have mercy upon my soul, and pardon the crime I have committed! I never disclosed my intentions to any one."

When the second wedge was driven, he said, with horrid cries and shrieks, "I am a sinner; I know no more than I have declared; I beseech the Court not to drive my soul to despair: O God! accept these torments in satisfaction for my sins!"

The third wedge was then driven lower near his feet, at which a universal sweat covered his body, and he fainted. Being quite speechless, he was released, some water thrown upon his face, and wine forced down his throat, by which he soon recovered,

A. D.
1610.

recovered, and was conducted to chapel by the executioner.

He was then left with two doctors of the Sorbonne, that they might perform the duties of their office with him, and to them he again declared upon oath, that he had said all he knew, and that no one had incited him to commit the murder.

At three in the afternoon, May 27, 1610, he was brought from the chapel, and put into a tumbril, when the crowd was so great, that it was with the utmost difficulty the *archers* could force a passage; and as soon as the prisoner appeared, that vast multitude began to load him with execrations.

When he had ascended the scaffold, the two doctors urged him to think of his salvation now at the close of life, and to confess all he knew; to which he only answered as he had done before. Fire and brimstone being put to his right hand, holding the knife with which he had stabbed the King, while his breast and other fleshy parts of his body were tearing with red-hot pincers, he renewed his cries and prayers. Afterwards, by intervals, melted lead and scalding oil were poured upon his wounds; during which he shrieked aloud, and continued his shrieks and ejaculations.

He was then drawn by four horses, for half an hour, by intervals, while the people of all ranks continued their curses. Several persons laid hold on the ropes and pulled them with the utmost eagerness;

ness; and one of the Noblesse, who was near the criminal, alighted from his horse, that it might be put in the place of one which was tired with drawing him. At length, when he had been drawn for a full hour by the horses, without being dismembered, the people, rushing on in crowds, threw themselves upon him; and with swords, knives, sticks, and other weapons, they struck, tore, and mangled his limbs; and violently forcing them from the executioner, they dragged them through the streets with the utmost eagerness and rage, and burnt them in different parts of the city.

A. D.
1610.



Regalt, the historian, says, that there were two different opinions concerning this assassination: one, that it was conducted by some grandees, who sacrificed that monarch to their old resentments; the other, that it was done by the emissaries of the Spaniards. Letters from Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin, and other places, were received before the 15th of May, with a report of the King's death. Though nothing occurs in the examinations of Ravaillac, that were first published, in reference to his journies to Naples, and other places; yet, as these are set down as certain truths, by good authors, so there are probable grounds to believe that they are not fictitious. It appears from Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, that Ravaillac had been not long before at Brussels. Amongst other circumstances that created a very great doubt, whether

A. D.
1610.

whether the assassin spoke truth, were the things found in his pocket at the time he was seized; amongst which was a chaplet, the figure of a heart, made in cotton, in the centre of which he said there was a bit of the true cross, but, when cut, there was none, which he affirmed was given him by a Canon at Angouleme; a piece of paper with the arms of France painted upon it, another full of characters, and a third containing verses for the meditation of a criminal going to execution. The Provost of Pluviers, or Petiviers, in Beauce, about six miles from Paris, had said openly, on the day that Henry IV. was murdered, "This day the King is either slain or dangerously wounded:" after the King's death was known, he was seized, and sent prisoner to Paris; but, before he was examined, he was found hanged in the strings of his drawers. What increased the suspicions grounded on this man's end, was his having two sons Jesuits, and his being a dependent on the family of Monsieur d'Entragues.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII. SURNAMED THE JUST.

Duke of Sully resigns—Conchini made Marshal of France—The King marries, and assumes the government—Rise of Luynes—Assassination of the Marshal—Queen Mother retires—Luynes dies—His hatred to the Protestants—Bishop of Lucon made Cardinal Richelieu—His hatred to the Protestants—Siege of Rochelle—Marriage between Charles I. King of England, and Henrietta Maria of France—War against the Protestants.

AS soon as possible after the King's death, the parliament was assembled; and Louis the Thirteenth, though only in the ninth year of his age, was crowned at Rheims on the 17th of October, 1610. His mother, Mary of Medicis, was made Regent, with a Council of Regency. The famous Marquis de Rhosny, at this time Duke of Sully, who had been the great minister to the late King, resigned in a very little time after. He disapproved of the conduct and views of the Queen Regent. The truth is, she was a very artful, mischievous, and malignant woman; and to such a one the great mind of Sully could not be made subservient. The Princes of the Blood, and the great Lords, at first made great professions of loyalty, upon the King's assassination; but, in a little time, the Court fell into great confusion. This was occasioned by

A. D.
1610.

The Duke
of Sully re-
signs.

A. D.
1610.



Conchini
made Mar-
shal of
France.

the bad management of the Queen Regent, who was entirely governed by an Italian chambermaid, whose name was Eleanor Galligai, and her husband, Conchino Conchini, whom she got made Marshal of France, by the title of Marshal d'Ancre; and, in part also, from the boundless ambition of the Princes and Grandees, who could not fail of laying hold of so favourable a conjuncture as a minority, to render themselves in a manner absolute in their respective governments.

This bad behaviour and immoderate power of theirs, produced many and great inconveniences to the people, who were equally fleeced by the Crown officers as by these Princes and Lords; and, although the latter sometimes mentioned them in their speeches and manifestoes against the Court, yet they never thought of them at any other time, but compromised their differences with the Administration on private and personal conditions, without taking the smallest notice of the public. In this manner things went on till the year 1615, when the young King espoused Anne of Austria. By this match the courage of the Court was so much raised, that they ventured to arrest the Prince of Condé, who was looked upon as the head of the malcontents, even in the Louvre; and how bold a stroke this was accounted at that time, may appear from hence, that Themines, the captain of the guards, who performed it, was for this service immediately promoted to the rank of Marshal of France.

The King
marries.

The

The King was now, in the eye of the law, major, supposed to have the direction of affairs entirely in his own hands; but they were much more so in those of Marshal d'Ancre; and none were suffered in the royal presence who were suspected of having capacity enough to talk to their master on proper subjects. Yet these precautions did not long avail: there was a young gentleman about the Court, whose name was Luynes, who, by his dexterity in hunting, was mightily in the King's favour; and this qualification giving the Queen's favourites no umbrage, he was allowed free access to his Majesty, and even to entertain him by his bed-side, in confidence that he would discourse only of trifles.

A. D.
1615.

and assumes
the govern-
ment.

Rise of
Luynes.

But, as it often falls out, the politicians quite mistook their man. Luynes, instead of horses and hounds, talked to the King of the distresses of the kingdom, the discontents of the nobility, and his own unworthy usage; all of which he imputed to the Marshal d'Ancre; hinting also, that as he had obtained it under one, he might think another minority the most convenient thing in the world for securing his greatness.

The King, who was naturally timorous, needed nothing more to drive him into action; and therefore he resolved to be beforehand with the Marshal; with a view to which, orders were sent by his favourite Luynes to Vitry, captain of the

A. D.
1617.

guards to arrest him, which he performed April 24, 1617, as he entered the Louvre.

Assassina-
tion of the
Marshal.

The Marshal stepping back, as if he intended to have drawn his sword, received instantly three pistol-shots; and, dying on the spot, his corpse was afterwards exposed to the fury of the populace; his wife was condemned, as a sorceress, to have her head cut off, which was executed in the Place de Grave; and Vitry was made Marshal of France, for having so thoroughly executed the commands of his master.

1618.
Queen Mo-
ther retires.

We may from hence date the administration of Lewis XIII. who had hitherto little more than the title of King; and, to say the truth, it was almost all he was capable of having; but however, he thought power was as well in his own hands, as in the Queen-mother's favourites; and therefore he threw off all restraints of that sort entirely. The Queen-mother, who loved governing, or rather that those who governed her should govern, was exceedingly displeased, and, in the year 1618, retired with the Duke d'Espernon into Angouleme, which proved the cause, or at least the pretence, for exciting fresh disorders.

She was however quickly restored to the King's favour, by the interposition of the Bishop of Luçon, whom she had brought into his councils; and whose abilities and matchless ingratitude to her who raised him, made him sufficiently known afterwards,

terwards, when he obtained the title of Cardinal Richelieu.

A. D.
1618.

All this time Luynes continued the favourite, obtained the Constable's staff, and was as powerful, and consequently was as much hated as ever Marshal d'Ancre had been. The Bishop of Luçon, as yet only Secretary of State, and who came but slowly into credit with the King, contributed not a little to it, by writing, or at least causing to be written, the Life of the Constable de Luna, a Spanish favourite; in which not only Luynes's character was very freely treated, but the King himself had his picture drawn, though not at all to his advantage.

By these arts, but, most of all, by the indiscretion of Luynes himself, who was ambitious, vain, and insolent, he sunk in the King's favour, who only looked for a fair opportunity of humbling him:—but fortune secured her child from falling, by cutting the thread of his life, just while he enjoyed the greatest plenitude of power.

Luynes dies.

It was from this Minister, that the King first received that plan which he afterwards pursued, for weakening and destroying the Protestant party in his dominions. As long as he lived, the Constable assisted in the prosecution of it; and the last act of his life was the siege of Monfieur, towards the end of which he died; but the notions he had put into the King's head, were far from dying with him; and notwithstanding those of the reformed

His hatred
to the Pro-
testants.

A. D.
1620.

religion had great strength, and continued to defend themselves vigorously, yet this power gradually declined; and they were glad to accept of such truces as the King would grant them, in order to recover themselves, and recruit their forces.

1622.

In 1622, the Duke of Rohan, who was one of the principal nobility of that party, submitted to the King, after his Majesty had taken Montpellier, and reduced the greatest part of Guienne. His Majesty then proceeded to Avignon, and exercised there all acts of sovereignty, which had not been done by his predecessors for a long time before. He went from thence to Grenoble, and so to Lyons in the month of November following, when the Bishop of Luçon received the Cardinal's hat, and was from thenceforward considered as prime minister. He in a short time gained such an ascendancy over his master, that he was more distinguished by being the instrument of his minister's project, than as the ruler of so great a kingdom.

Bishop of
Luçon made
Cardinal
Richelieu.

This Monarch was far from wanting capacity, or even from being indolent; but he had a weakness of constitution, a natural timidity in his temper, and little or no education; so that he was, generally speaking, sensible of his unfitness to sustain the weight of government, and was glad to devolve it upon other men's shoulders; but then he was apt to grow jealous of their authority, and repine at the sight of that grandeur of which himself,

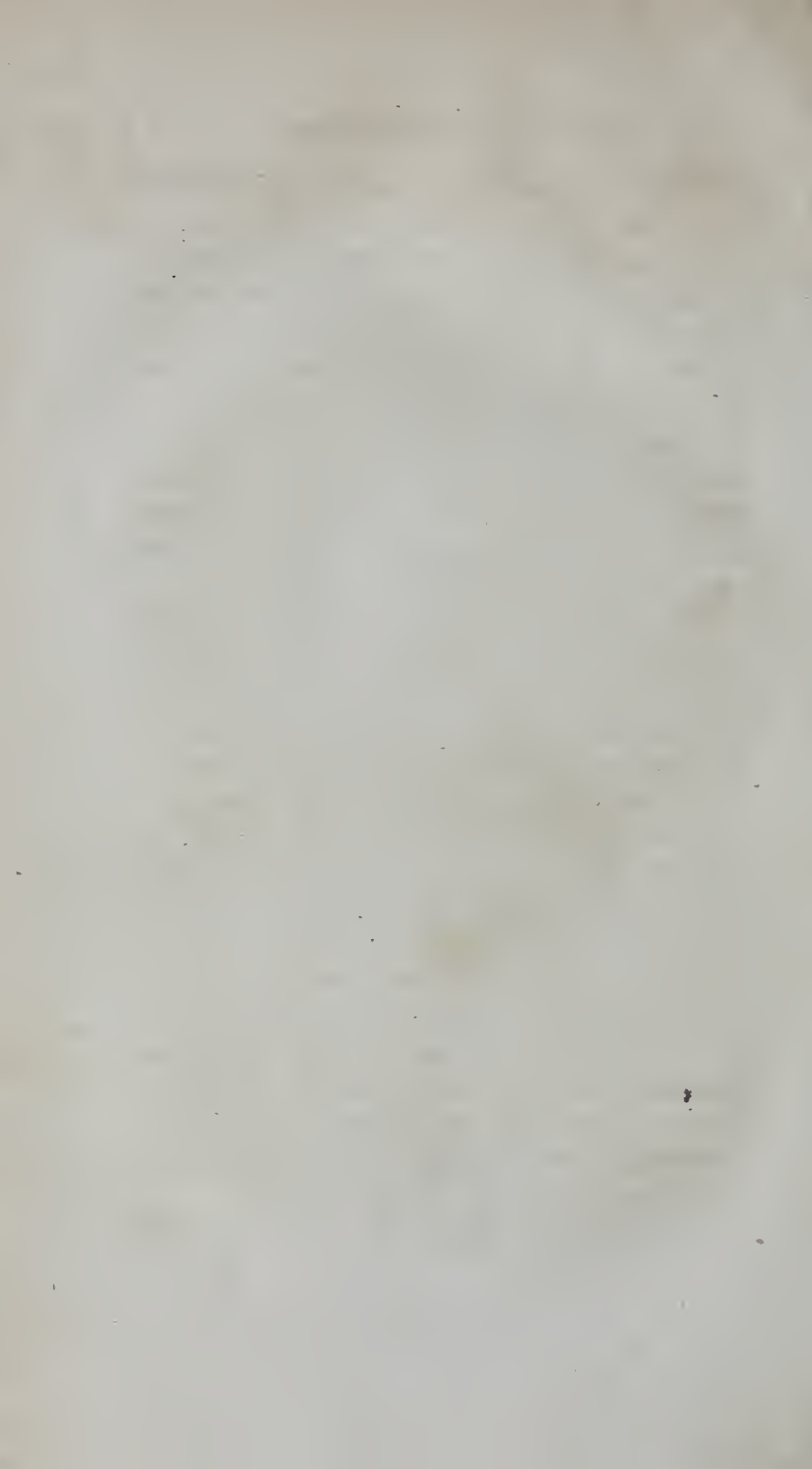


J. Goussier sculp.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU,

Prime Minister to Louis XIII.

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self, and that too for his own sake, was the sole author and cause.

A. D.
1622.

Hitherto he had been governed by a favourite, of very limited abilities ; but his new minister was a man of quite another cast. He had a capacity as extensive as his ministry required, and a spirit capable of supplying all the defects of his master. He laboured all he could to make the King easy and great ; he indulged his foibles, and extended his authority ; but, in doing this, he never considered the means, whether good or bad, or had the least concern for the consequences.

He possessed his master with an opinion that his government could not either be secure or glorious, till he had compassed three points. The first was, the suppression of the Protestants ; for while they subsisted, and had strong towns in their hands, he was master of only a part of his subjects, and not of his whole kingdom. The second regarded the princes of the blood, and the great lords who were entrusted with the government, who, forgetting that they owed all those marks of distinction to the favour of the Court, were very apt to pick quarrels with the ministry, and to turn the force in their hands upon their benefactors. In the third place, he shewed the King that he could never be safe at home, while there was a power superior to his own abroad, more especially if that power was his neighbour.

His hatred
to the Pro-
testants.

A. D.
1622.

In short he insinuated, that ruining the Protestants, and abasing the Nobility, were the sole means of making the King easy within his realm; as the reducing the power of the House of Austria was a point absolutely necessary to make room for the Gallic monarchy, and to give it that credit with the rest of the Powers of Europe, that it merited by its situation and strength.

The King saw this project in the most advantageous light possible; for it suited exactly with his inclinations, and agreed, in every respect, with his manner of thinking. He had been bred with strong prejudices against those of the reformed religion; he had very warm resentments, from the usage he had met with from his grandees; and he had ambition enough to desire that his reign should be signalised by victories and conquests.

He came therefore very readily into the proposals made by the Cardinal; and conceiving rightly enough of his own want of strength, and of the bold, enterprising, and yet solid genius of his minister, he resolved to put the execution of his plan entirely into his hands, and to give him all the assistance his authority could supply, for bringing it, in every respect, to full perfection.

He began with the Protestants; and the manner in which he treated them, was such, that they saw plainly enough what they had to expect; and therefore exerted themselves to the utmost for their own protection and preservation. They knew they had
a title

a title to their privileges by the laws; and, when force was made use of to overturn those privileges; they thought it both reasonable and just to have recourse to the same method for their defence.

To render this the more effectual, they found it necessary to apply themselves to their neighbours of the same religion for assistance, which was promised them by King Charles I. of Great-Britain, though he married his Most Christian Majesty's sister. The French King persisted, however, in the resolution to execute his, or rather the Cardinal's, scheme; and accordingly laid siege to Rochelle, one of the strongest places in the hands of Protestants, and a very convenient port, by which, so long as it continued in their hands, they might always receive succours from England.

A. D.
1628

Siege of Rochelle.

This siege lasted a whole year, in which time the English made two fruitless attempts to relieve it; and the place was at last taken by a contrivance of the Cardinal, who commanded the King's army in chief, and had two lieutenant-generals to act under him; for he found means to run a dyke across the canal by which they received provisions and succours, though with infinite labour, expence, and trouble; so that the inhabitants were forced to surrender, and submit themselves to the King's mercy, who entered the place with triumph Nov. 1, 1628.

By this blow, the Protestants in France were brought so low, that many of their great men were obliged to quit the kingdom.

A. D.
1622.

Marriage
between
Charles I.
and Henri-
etta.

A treaty of marriage had been some time depending between Charles Prince of Wales, and the Princess Henrietta Maria, the youngest sister of the King. The Earls of Holland and Carlisle were sent over ambassadors from England upon this occasion. The nature of the thing made it requisite to put the Cardinal at the head of the committee of council who were to manage this alliance; and the great address he shewed in conducting this affair, which was violently opposed by the Court of Rome, placed him at the head of the administration. Vieuville had long affected that post; and, by endeavouring either to ruin or remove such as he disliked, excited such a number of complaints, that the Cardinal found it no difficult matter to dispossess him in the King's favour, and even to send him prisoner to the castle of Amboise. On his disgrace, Marillac came into the direction of the finances: but the Cardinal took care to have such a distinct account of all their departments, that the lesser ministers had it not in their power to conduct things at their pleasure, or to dispute the orders of the Cardinal, any more than of the King. Though he disgraced his rivals, or rather procured their disgrace, he paid a proper regard to the merit of their plans; and on this score he adopted that of Luynes for the suppression of the Protestants, provoking them, by the breach of several articles of the last treaty, to take up arms, that they might be said to bring the war upon themselves.

selves. From the like motive he pursued the measures which Veauville had begun, for giving a new turn to the affairs of Italy, where, though a treaty had been entered into with the Venetians and the Duke of Savoy for abasing the power of the Spaniards, yet hitherto nothing had been done towards carrying it into execution : but Richelieu no sooner entered into power, than he sent the Marquis de Cœuvres, with the title of Ambassador-Extraordinary, to the Grisons, where, instead of negotiating, he put himself at the head of an army, and, expelling the Pope's troops, made himself master of the Valteline. This transaction occasioned some warm expostulations at Rome, which, however, made no impression upon Richelieu, who roundly told the nuncio, that he had the character of the King's minister, as well as a prince of the church, and that he meant to support both : it produced as strong expostulations on the side of the Spaniards ; but the Cardinal having concluded a treaty of subsidy with the States-general, and knowing how well the English were disposed to enter into a league against Spain, was as little moved by them.

A. D.
1622.

As the prudence and political skill of the Minister had been exercised in the preceding year, so his courage and diligence were employed in this, both by a civil and a foreign war. Meanwhile, the marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Henrietta Maria, was celebrated with great

1624.

A. D.
1624.

great pomp, on the 12th of May; the nuptial benediction being given by the Cardinal de Rochefoucault, the Duke de Chevreuse being proxy for Charles, now become King of England. Her Britannic Majesty quitted that city soon after, and was conducted by the Court to Amiens, where she was met by Buckingham, the King's great confidant, who, upon this occasion, behaved so imprudently, as to incur the deep resentment of Cardinal Richelieu, and the general hatred of the French nation.

War against
the Protestants.

If we credit the French historians, the second war with the Protestants in this reign was begun by Monsieur de Soubise, even without the concurrence of his own party, in contempt of the royal authority, and in a time of full peace. The truth of the matter is this: by the treaty of Montpellier that town was to be left free, and Rochelle in the same condition as before the war; but, notwithstanding this article, a garrison had been hitherto left in the former, and Fort Lewis, which had been erected during the war, had a strong garrison left in it to curb the latter. But the immediate cause of the second rupture was the equipping a squadron of the King's ships, in the port of l'Orient, in order to block up Rochelle; in this critical situation Monsieur de Soubise offered with a few ships to enter that port, take or destroy the vessels he found there, and ruin the magazines prepared for their destruction. He consented; in case he miscarried, to be disowned, choosing rather certain ruin

to

A. D.
1624.

to himself, than to hazard the Protestant interest. His enterprize was betrayed; he executed it notwithstanding. He entered the port, took the ships, and, after being blocked up there many weeks, with the advantage of a strong wind forced a passage, and carried out his own squadron and his prizes, except two that were lost.

About the middle of September the maritime powers being then in alliance with France; a fleet composed of French, English, and Dutch ships, attacked that of Rochelle, and after reduced the islands of Rhé and Oléron. However, the clamours of the English nation having obliged King Charles to promise succour to the Rochellers, the Earl of Holland and Sir Dudley Carleton were sent over to mediate a peace, which had been already granted to the rest of the Reformed. They succeeded in this negociation; and the King of Great Britain, by the consent of Lewis the Thirteenth, became guarantee for the performance of it; of which the principal article was, that Fort Lewis should be demolished in six months; so that, notwithstanding their losses by the war, the Protestants were gainers by the peace.

CHAPTER XLII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.

Peace made by the Pope—Vicious character of the French Court—Marriage of the Duke of Orleans—Conspiracy against the Cardinal—Assembly of the Notables—Richelieu made Grand Master of the Marine—His views—Duke of Buckingham comes to France—Richelieu makes treaties with Spain and Holland—English fleet sent to Rochelle—Siege of Rochelle—Rochelle taken—New Duke of Mantua—Pass of Vuza forced—Duke of Rohan submits—French army sent to Italy—First appearance of Mazarine—Casal taken—The Cardinal in danger—Cabals at Court—Treaties with Sweden and Bavaria—Queen-mother flies to Flanders—The Cardinal made a Duke—Montmorency beheaded.

A. D.
1624.

Peace made
by the Pope.

1625.

THE war in Italy was carried on, by the French, only as auxiliaries to the Duke of Savoy; nominally against the Genoese, but in reality against the Spaniards. The Pope, observing that this war would bring on a war between France and Spain, interposed warmly and sincerely to prevent a rupture between the two Crowns; and next year (1625), a treaty of peace was concluded at Monçon; by which the sovereignty of the Valteline was secured to the Grisons, the passes were left to their disposition, and the exercise of the Popish religion exclusively was established; which terms

were not thought very favourable to the allies of France.

A. D.
1625.

The Cardinal incurred the hatred of all the partisans of Spain, by entering into the war of Italy; and, by the conclusion of the peace, he exasperated the allies of France. In truth, there never was a court in which men were more attached to their interests and their vices, or had less tincture of honour, virtue, and religion, than this. The King had been very early jealous of his brother, and that from the meanest principle possible, the apprehension of superior parts. The *Sieur de Breves*, his governor, was removed without any reason given; and the care of him was committed to Colonel *Ornano*, who acquired an influence over him by a condescension fatal to persons of his rank. To gratify his own ambition, he put him upon demanding entrance into the council of state when he was scarce sixteen; and it was for this presumption that *Ornano* was arrested. Monsieur expressed great concern; upon which he was set at liberty, and restored to his office; notwithstanding which favour, *Ornano* now set the Duke at the head of a party that was formed against the Cardinal.

Vicious character of the Court.

The late King, upon the death of the Duke of Montpensier, who left an only daughter, had expressed a desire, that, if his son lived, he should marry her, as a princess of the blood, and one of the greatest heiresses in France. The Queen-mother

Marriage of the Duke of Orleans.

A. D.
1625.

ther had this match always in view ; the Cardinal promoted it for that reason ; the Duke of Guise, who had married the Duchess-dowager of Montpensier, was very desirous of it likewise. The cabal formed against it acted only from motives of interest and ambition. At the head of it was the Queen, afraid of seeing the issue of that marriage, when she had none of her own : the Duke of Savoy went into this opposition, out of resentment to the late peace ; and offered Monsieur, secretly, by the Abbé Scaglia, his ambassador, the young Princess of Mantua, his grand-daughter. The Prince of Condé and the Count de Soissons were vehemently against it, from the common motive of its removing them farther from the succession ; the Duke of Vendosme, and his brother the Grand Prior, from their hatred of the Cardinal ; and many others from the same principle. The King himself, from the natural jealousy of his temper, was at first little inclined to it ; but his favourite, Baradas, having hinted that there was a faction formed, which had in view the shutting him up in a monastery, placing his brother on the throne, and marrying him to the Queen, he changed his opinion, and became very warm in favour of the Princess of Montpensier. In order to engage Ornano to employ his influence with Monsieur, he was promised the staff of Marshal of France ; and this promise giving his pupil a fair occasion, he pressed the performance of it so vehemently, that

that it was granted him in the beginning of April. Nevertheless, he entered into the scheme formed by the Abbé Scaglia to murder the Cardinal at a hunting match, which was prevented by the information of the Count of Chalais, master of the wardrobe to the King, who was drawn into it by his mistress, the Duchess of Chevreuse. The Cardinal avoided the danger, and concealed the intelligence. Soon Marshal de Ornano was arrested, and sent to the Bastille—a step which irritated Monsieur extremely. He demanded of Cardinal Richelieu, Whether it was done by his advice? “Yes, Sir,” answered the Cardinal, “I was one of those who advised it.” Monsieur, by the advice of his confederates, and particularly of the Count of Chalais, whom the Duchess had again engaged, formed a new design of seizing the person of the Cardinal, and exchanging him for the Marshal de Ornano; but this likewise proved abortive. The King making a journey to Blois, and leaving Richelieu behind, an opinion prevailed, that he was disgraced; but this was only a feint to draw the Duke of Vendôme thither, who, with his brother the Grand Prior, was arrested, and sent prisoner to the castle of Vincennes. The Count de Chalais was likewise seized; Deageant, Modena, and some others, were sent to the Bastille; upon which the Count de Soissons withdrew from Court, and soon after retired into Italy.

A. D.
1625.Conspiracy
against the
Cardinal.

Monsieur

A. D.
1625.



Monsieur being left to himself, and the Princess of Montpensier coming to join the Court at Nantes, he either conceived a sudden passion for her, or thought to soften his brother by his marriage, which he concluded privately, on the 6th of August, Cardinal Richelieu giving the nuptial benediction. In respect to himself, it had very good effects; the duchies of Orleans and Chartres, and the county of Blois, were settled upon him as his appendage; the Princess brought him the duchies of Montpensier and Chatellerault; and he had also very considerable pensions assigned on the treasury: but, with respect to his friends, it wrought no such favourable operations as he expected. A special commission was appointed for the trial of the Count de Chalais; by which he was condemned as guilty of high treason. Chalais, either through hopes of life, or weakness of mind, made a very ample confession, which availed him nothing; for he lost his head; and died with great steadiness and constancy. Marshal Ornano would have probably shared the same fate, if he had not died of a fever and retention of urine in the Bastille. The enemies of Richelieu say, that, as he was enamoured of the Duchess of Chevreuse, he gave a loose to his resentment on this occasion; and that his intrigues in this affair were as inexcusable as the conduct of the conspirators: be that as it will, he turned the storm his enemies had raised, upon themselves; established himself more firmly than ever in his
admini-

A. D. 1

1625.



stration ; created an opinion in the King, that his power was absolutely requisite to his Majesty's preservation ; and procured, for the safety of his own person, a new and very singular prerogative, by having guards assigned him, who accompanied him even to Court, as well as every other place he went to.

Although the conspiracy was destroyed, yet it was followed by disagreeable circumstances. The Duchess de Chevreuse, the widow of the Constable Luynes, for whom the King had once a strong affection, and who, after she was hated by him, had an absolute influence over his Queen, retired into Lorraine, and set on foot fresh intrigues. The Count de Soissons was not idle at Rome ; but the person who did the most mischief was the Abbé Scaglia, whom his master, the Duke of Savoy, sent over into England, where he wrought himself into the good graces of the Duke of Buckingham, and induced him to prevail upon the King his master to send home all the Queen's French servants, except a chaplain ; a step which produced such a misunderstanding between the Courts, as obliged Louis XIII. to send over Marshal Bassompierre to negotiate a reconciliation. This artful Italian, bent upon exciting a war between the two nations, induced the same English favourite to enter into a correspondence with the Duke of Rohan ; and the pretence of his Britannic Majesty's being guarantee of the last treaty with the Protest-

Vol. III.

B b

ants,

A. D. 1625. ants, gave him such hopes as proved the source of fresh troubles.

1626. Assembly of the Notables Towards the end of the year, there was an assembly of the Notables held at the Thuilleries ; from whence, though great things were expected, yet very little was produced, except an edict against duels, by which the offenders were degraded from their nobility.

Richelieu made Grand Master of the Marine.

Richelieu informed the King of the bad state of his marine, and at the same time put the King upon removing the Duke of Montmorency, who was admiral ; which was done ; and then the office was suppressed, as was likewise that of Constable, by an edict at the beginning of the year. It was never intended to revive the latter ; but the affairs of the marine were immediately committed to Cardinal Richelieu, who, some months after, had in effect the power of Admiral conferred upon him, with the title of Grand-Master and Superintendant of Navigation, calculated to lessen the envy of this new dignity, without diminution of his power. Another effect of his influence was the disgrace of Barradas, the King's favourite, who began to presume too much on his master's inclination towards him ; but, because he could not be without a favourite, St. Simon was introduced in his room. As the former had enjoyed his favour but six months, the fortune of Barradas is become proverbial in France for a short-lived prosperity.

Cardinal

Cardinal Richelieu, from the time he entered into the administration, had two great points in view, the destruction of the Protestants, and the diminution of the power of the House of Austria; and he persisted firmly in the execution of both parts of his scheme, until they were accomplished. He intended to begin with the House of Austria.

A. D.
1626.
His views.

But when he found that the Court of Rome took the alarm, and began to treat him as a friend to heretics, and that this treatment gave great spirits to the remainder of the Spanish faction in France, he thought it requisite to alter his conduct, as to the manner of executing his projects, though not as to the projects themselves. He had before endeavoured to cajole the Protestants, by insinuating his inclination to curb the power of Spain: he now gave the emissaries of Rome and Spain to understand, that they should proceed, though more slowly, yet more surely, against the Hugonots; and, if he abandoned the Duke of Savoy, it was to save the Valteline. He executed his scheme with all the prudence imaginable, but found as much danger in this sudden transition as in adhering to his former plan. The Spaniards did not in the least abate of their suspicions; the Duke of Savoy was violent in his expressions of resentment; the English, with good reason, charged him with insincerity, as having given them assurances to join with them against Spain; the Princes of Germany were no less offended, as being disappointed in the hopes they had entertained of a

A. D.
1626

general confederacy, which was negotiating at the Hague, and which proved ineffectual, from this change in the Cardinal's measures. But, above all, the Protestants in France were most alarmed, and with most reason: they saw many of their cautionary places taken from them, Popish magistrates introduced in most of their great towns, a citadel building at Montpellier, and the port of Rochelle in a manner blocked up by the fort of St. Lewis, and by the garrison in the isle of Oleron, which were paid at the Cardinal's own expence.

It is well known, that at this time the Duke of Buckingham governed the English Court; and that promises were made to the Protestants in France of assistance from England. These were made through the Duke of Soubise, who then lived an exile there, and, as it was very natural, were made by him to his brother the Duke of Rohan, who declined a correspondence with the Duke of Buckingham, as it might have proved dangerous to him, considering that his own Court held him in continual suspicion; but he sent over Monsr. St. Blancard, to lay before the English Court the state of their affairs, and afterwards received an agent from the Duke of Buckingham, with whom he consulted upon every thing. The English agent, if we may depend on the Duke of Rohan, promised more than it was possible to perform; for he gave him hopes of three invasions, one in Dauphiné, one at Rochelle, and another at
the

the mouth of the Garonne : on the other hand, the Duke of Rohan promised to join the English with a considerable body of troops as soon as they were landed ; and there is good reason to believe that the English Court understood that the Duke of Rohan treated for the whole Protestant interest in France. In consequence of this negociation, the English began to seize and take French ships ; and the Duke of Buckingham, framing to himself an idea of making some impression upon that Court by talking high, came over in quality of ambassador : but, whatever his notions were in this respect, he found himself much mistaken, returned full of resentment ; and the Court of France having made reprisals, a rupture presently followed, though without the usual formality of declarations. The French attribute this conduct of Buckingham to his passion for the first lady in the French Court, in the first place, and, in the next, to his violent aversion to the Cardinal, of which there is no doubt : but it may not be amiss to observe, that there was something more ; and the Duke's conduct was not quite so extravagant as it is generally represented. We have seen that, at the time of King Charles's marriage with the sister of Lewis XIII. the first public transaction of Richelieu's ministry, and in which he acted with so much vigour as to threaten the Court of Rome to proceed without a dispensation, if they continued to delay, there was all along a tacit presumption that

A. D.
1626.

Duke of
Buckingham comes
to France.

A. D.
1626.



France would concur with England in the war against Spain; and, upon the Cardinal's suggesting that it was impossible for him to take this measure, if the people of Rochelle were not obliged to accept a peace, Buckingham was drawn in to send some of his master's ships to the assistance of the French; a measure which raised the spirit of the whole English nation against him, and was made one of the principal grounds of impeachment. In consequence of this dissatisfaction, Buckingham, like Richelieu, changed his plan, and urged the French Court to conclude a reasonable peace with the Rochellers, and became security to them for its performance, in case they accepted it: but, after they had accepted it, and he found that France would neither concur with England in carrying on the war with Spain, nor perform the treaty with the Protestants, Buckingham had no other way left, more especially after the miscarriage of the fleet he sent against Cadiz, of making his peace with the English nation, but to break, as he did, with the French Court, in support of the French Protestants; and it was not so much a mistake in his measures, as his misconduct in the execution of them, that ruined this favourite. The Cardinal, on the other hand, ever present to himself, and equal, in all respects, to the vast designs he had formed, laid hold of this opportunity to conclude a treaty with Spain against the English, by which he brought the Spanish faction in France to act with him. At the

Richelieu
makes treat-
ies with
Spain and
Holland.

the same time he concluded another treaty with Holland, by which he granted them an annual subsidy of a million for the support of their war against Spain. When the Spaniards represented against this, he told them, that it was only to prevent their giving assistance to England and to the Rochellers.

A. D.
1626.

During these political intrigues, the Duchess of Orleans, after being delivered, on the 29th of May, of a daughter, died on the 4th of June following, which was an event of very great consequence. The Duke, after his marriage, loved his consort with so warm and so steady an affection, and she behaved so prudently, that, instead of those jealousies and disquiets which hitherto had disturbed and distracted the royal family, all was perfectly quiet and serene: but with her this peace might be said to expire. The King's old humours revived; he could not forbear expressing an indecent satisfaction, that the child was a daughter, and not a son; with which circumstance also the Queen seemed pleased. Hints were given to the Duke of Orleans's favourites, that they should spare no pains to amuse and divert him, and that, if any extraordinary sums were necessary to enliven his pleasures, they should be supplied. The Cardinal, in order to contribute to this design, parted with his house at Limours to him; and it was besides intimated to the Queen-mother, that she should not disturb herself too much with the

A. D.
1626.

thoughts of finding another consort for her son, an advice she could not either relish or excuse : but, to show how little strength there is in the best-laid schemes, these precautions were scarce conceived before it was found necessary to lay them aside.

1627.
English fleet
sent to Ro-
chelle.

The Duke of Buckingham came before Rochelle on the 20th of July, with a fleet of upwards of one hundred sail of men of war and transports, and between seven and eight thousand land forces on board : but, to his surprise, the people of Rochelle shut their gates and their port against him, taking all possible precautions to prevent his sending so much as a messenger into the place. The Duke of Rohan says expressly, that the mayor and principal magistrates were in the interest of the Court ; but, whatever the cause of it might be, the fleet proved equally fatal to the Rochellers and to himself. The consort of the Duke of Rohan, and his mother, having fled to Rochelle for shelter, found means, with great difficulty, to bring in Monsieur Soubise, who came over with Buckingham ; and he at last prevailed for the admission of Sir William Beecher, the agent of that Duke, to declare to them the end and design of his coming. He told them that the King of Great-Britain, having induced them to make a peace on the strongest assurances of liberty and security, being informed that they had neither ; that they were in danger of being blocked up, and knew not how to prevent it, or to defend themselves ; and having in
vain

vain endeavoured to procure the advantages stipulated for them by the treaty, through the interposition of his good offices with the Court of France; had sent the Lord High Admiral of England to effect by force what had been denied him in quality of ambassador. The magistrates and people of Rochelle returned their thanks to his Britannic Majesty for his care and kindness; said they were a part only of the Protestant body in France; that they must consult their brethren before they could return him any definitive answer. The Duke then landed upon the island of Rhé; the French troops retired into the fortrefs, which the Duke besieged, without taking the precautions that were necessary. The besieged had at first abandoned a well which was absolutely necessary for them; but they speedily recovered, and fortified it. The Duke thought it beneath him to attack the small fort of La Prée, which however covered the landing-place, enabled the small succours that were sent to the fort to pass in safety, and kept the English vessels at a distance. But the greatest error of all was, that the Duke suffered himself to be amused by a treaty, which the French governor of the Island set on foot, purely to gain time, which the Duke was compliant enough to give him. In the mean time Cardinal Richelieu acted with that spirit and prudence which were the characteristics of his ministry. He sent a small body of horse into the neighbourhood of fort Lewis, supported by three thousand foot, under

A. D.
1627.

Siege of Rochelle.

A. D.
1627.

the command of the Duke of Angouleme. At first he made the Rochellers believe that they were not intended against them, but to guard the coast against the English, a declaration which made them more remiss. Soon after he caused quarters to be marked in the villages about Rochelle for five-and-twenty thousand men; of which circumstance the Rochellers giving notice to the English fleet, this intelligence hindered them from attacking fort Lewis, that otherwise might have been taken in a day's time. In order to quicken the preparations, and that nothing might be wanting, he not only advanced his own money, but sold his plate and jewels, that supplies might be procured for the service. By his express directions, two considerable convoys were sent to St. Martin's. The Duke of Rohan, who fulfilled his engagements, and took up arms, met with incredible difficulties, and infinite disappointments: on the one hand, he was declared guilty of high treason by the Parliament; on the other, he was disavowed by the greater part of the Protestants, through timidity, self-interest, and corruption. In October the Cardinal brought the King, accompanied by his brother, the Count de Soissons, the Dukes of Guise, Angouleme, and Nemours, the Marshals Schomberg, Bassompierre, and d'Estrées, the Dukes of Tremouille, Bellegrade, Crequi, Chevreuse, Montbazon, Retz, and Rochefoucault, with the flower of nobility of France, and a considerable army, before Rochelle.

A. D.
1627.

chelle. On the 6th of November, the Duke of Buckingham, having received a considerable reinforcement from England, caused a general assault to be given to the fort of St. Martin, in which he was repulsed with considerable loss. Two days after, Marshal Schomberg landed with a body of troops superior to his army; so that he suffered considerably in his retreat, though his troops behaved well. At length, having embarked every thing, he sailed for England, on the 17th of the same month, totally abandoning the Protestants of Rochelle to their fate. The royal army, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, continued before Rochelle; and Richelieu had interest enough with his master to keep him there likewise.

Some writers have asserted, that Richelieu had meditated the siege of Rochelle for ten years: it is at least as certain that he might have speculated upon it for ten years more, if his good fortune had not furnished him with this opportunity, when, by their unseasonable diffidencies, and as unseasonable confidence, the Rochellers and the Duke of Buckingham had ruined each other. Richelieu was exactly informed of the situation things were in, saw his opportunity, and took it. He determined to besiege a place of great extent, and extremely well fortified, furnished with a numerous artillery, abundantly supplied with military stores, full of a martial, enthusiastic, and determined people, under the government of M. Guitton, their mayor, a man

A. D.
1627.

man of sense, experience, and invincible fortitude. The army did not consist of above twenty-three thousand men. The King graced the siege with his person ; but the Cardinal commanded, assisted by the Duke of Angouleme, and the Marshals Bassompierre and Schomberg. The lines of circumvallation were nine miles in extent, fortified by thirteen forts of different sizes, well furnished with artillery. He opened no trenches ; he raised, for a long time, no batteries. The great point was to shut up the port : trials were made by driving vast stakes to embarrass the entrance, but to little purpose. Some attempts were made to construct a boom, which also miscarried. The Cardinal himself, considering what Cæsar had done at Durazzo, and Alexander the Great at Tyre, resolved upon a dyke. When he first proposed it, those who ought to have been the judges treated the scheme with ridicule ; they said there were many things made a great figure in books, that had but a paltry appearance when they came to be put in practice. At last, Lewis Metezeau and John Tiriot undertook to execute what the Cardinal had proposed. The scheme was, to run a solid wall across a gulph seven hundred and forty toises broad, into which the sea rolled with great force, and, when the winds were high, with an impetuosity to which it seemed ridiculous to think of opposing any work of man. It was begun by throwing in great rocks to lay a kind of foundation ; upon these were laid
vast

vast stones, cemented by the mud thrown up by the sea. Before and behind, it was supported by beams of an enormous size, at twelve feet distance, driven into the bottom with incredible labour. It was raised so high, that the soldiers were not incommoded by the water, even at spring tides: the platform was near five toises in breadth, but the foundation was full fifteen; so that it was built in the manner of a glacis. At each extremity there was a strong fort; in the middle there was an open passage of one hundred and fifty paces, several vessels being sunk immediately before it, together with high stakes in a double row, and before these, thirty-five vessels linked together, so as to form a kind of floating palisade. This amazing dyke was begun in December, and finished in the month of May. As for the army on shore, the troops were well lodged, regularly paid, and, from time to time, both officers and soldiers had considerable gratifications; besides, the latter had hats, shoes, and watch-coats, delivered them whenever it was necessary; and plenty of provisions were brought to the camp.

During the winter the King returned to Paris, but appointed the Cardinal his Lieutenant-General by a special commission, directing the Duke of Angouleme and the two Marshals to obey him in all things. About the middle of May the English fleet arrived, commanded by the Earl of Denbigh: it was numerous and potent enough

A. D.
1627.

1628.

A. D.
1628.

to have attempted any thing, and yet did little or nothing, the dyke being perfectly finished, and flanked by good batteries : two of the English officers exclaimed against the cowardice of the rest, who, notwithstanding, alledged many excuses ; the best of them was, that most of the vessels were pressed or hired. However, after throwing in some little supply of corn, they withdrew, with assurance of a speedy return. In the mean time, the Cardinal omitted nothing that could be attempted in the way of surprise or negociation ; but the Rochellers were so vigilant, that they disappointed all his enterprises ; and so firm, that, though the common people lived upon shell-fish and grass, they would not listen to dishonourable terms. In order to hasten the great armament that was making at Portsmouth for their relief, King Charles repaired to the neighbourhood, and the Duke of Buckingham went thither, where, on the 23d of August, old stile, he was stabbed by Felton. This incident, instead of hindering, promoted the expedition ; for the Duke of Rohan assures us, that by the care and diligence of the King, more was done in ten or twelve days than in many weeks before ; so that in the beginning of September the fleet sailed. The Spaniards, in virtue of their treaty, had sent a fleet to the assistance of the French ; and this, after a short stay, in which they did little or nothing, retired ; but by the Cardinal's extreme diligence, exclusive of thirty galliots that

A. D.
1628.

that were above the dyke, to keep the Rochellers from attempting any thing, he had assembled forty ships of war, which lay ranged before it in line of battle: the English fleet, under the command of the Earl of Lindsey is said to have consisted of one hundred and fifty sail of all sorts; they fought, or rather cannonaded, the fleet two or three times, but with no great effect: they negotiated to as little purpose as they fought: at length the besieged, quite tired out, surrendered the place on the last day of October. They were permitted to enjoy their fortunes and their religion; but their extensive privileges, which they had held for three hundred years, were suppressed, and all their impregnable fortifications demolished. Of twenty thousand inhabitants that were in the place when invested, there were not four thousand left, and of these not a hundred able to carry arms. The King made his entry into Rochelle on the 1st of November, about ten in the morning. About twelve arose a storm which considerably weakened the dyke; and a few days after, forty toises of it were demolished. If the English fleet under the command of the Earl of Denbigh had arrived a fortnight sooner, they would have relieved the place; or if the Rochellers could have held out a fortnight longer, they might have been relieved and supplied. But Richelieu boasted, that he had taken the place in spite of three kings; Philip IV. of Spain, who assisted the Rochellers with money,

Charles

A. D.
1628.

Charles I. of England, who wasted immense sums in fruitless endeavours to assist them; and Lewis XIII. who, by his inquietudes and despondencies, gave him more trouble than both. This important conquest, upon which the King was solemnly complimented by Pope Urban VIII. was achieved by the expenditure of forty millions of livres, but without much effusion of blood.

New Duke
of Mantua.

Cardinal Richelieu, who looked upon the Protestants as in a manner subdued, now turned his thoughts to the other branch of his great project; and represented to the King, that, since the House of Austria considered the Duke of Nevers incapacitated from holding the Dukedom of Mantua, to which he had recently acceded, because he was born in France, the King was bound to afford him the strongest protection.

The Queen-Mother opposed the Cardinal's scheme. The Duke of Nevers had been ever amongst the malcontents during her regency; and the Duke of Orleans had a passion for Mary de Gonzagua, the Duke's daughter, which hindered him from approving his mother's choice of Anne de Medicis, the youngest daughter of the Grand Duke. But the Cardinal, though he shewed, upon all occasions, great complaisance for the Queen-Mother, remained firm, and assured his master, that, if they took the field early, Casal, which was besieged by Don Gonzalo de Cordova, might be relieved in spring; and that
the

the Duke of Rohan, and those that were in arms with him, might, notwithstanding, be brought to to submit before the end of the summer. In the middle of February the King arrived with his army at Grenoble, and sent to demand a passage through the territories of the Duke of Savoy, who laboured to gain time, in hopes the Spaniards would be able to make themselves masters of Casal; but, by the Cardinal's advice, the King marched and negociated at the same time. He passed the Alps in the midst of frost and snow, himself on foot at the head of his troops, and, on the 6th of March, forced the famous pass of Suza, which, though well fortified, was ill defended; the town and castle of the same name surrendered the next day. The Cardinal made so good use of this success, that the Duke of Savoy quickly consented to a treaty, by which he promised to give a passage, and to furnish subsistence to the troops that were to march to the relief of the Duke of Mantua, and also to engage the Spanish General to raise the siege of Casal. In consequence of this accommodation, Monsieur Thoiras was sent with three thousand foot and three hundred horse to take possession of that important place; and the King had the satisfaction, before his departure, to conclude two very important treaties; the first in the nature of an alliance with the Republic of Venice and the Duke of Savoy, for maintaining the repose of Italy; the other,

A. D.
1628.1629.
Pass of Suza
forced.

A. D.
1629.



with the King of Great Britain, under the mediation of the Venetians.

Spain, however, continued to disturb France, and to urge the Duke of Rohan, who was the great general of the Protestants, to carry on the war. For this purpose the King of Spain made a treaty with him, and promised him an annual subsidy of three hundred thousand pieces of eight, in consideration of his maintaining a certain number of foot and horse; farther stipulating for the free exercise of the Popish religion in all the places within his power during the continuance of the war; and that a toleration should be established, if he should succeed in his design of forming an independent state in France. But what is still more extraordinary, it is acknowledged, in the preamble of this treaty, that the King of Spain concluded it from motives of state, and in resentment of the great assistance given by the French to his heretic rebels in the Low Countries. At this time the Duke of Rohan had considerable forces on foot in Languedoc, Guienne, and the Cevennes; and, amongst other strong places, he had in his power Nismes, Uses, Montauban, Castres, Privas, Alais, Milau Sante Afrique. In May the King besieged Privas, a strong place in Vivarez, which defended itself for twelve days with such resolution, that the King lost some hundreds of his troops before it. At length, hard pressed, and seeing no hopes of relief, the garri-
son

A. D.
1629.

son retired into the fortress, and the inhabitants of the town withdrew into the mountains. Those in the fort were obliged to surrender at discretion: and the firing of some powder giving a pretence for suggesting that they had attempted to blow up the troops that had entered the place, they were most inhumanly treated, being put to a variety of deaths, and some hundreds of them hanged by the King's order, and in his sight; for that Prince was naturally cruel. The fate of Privas so terrified the people of Aletz, that they immediately began to treat, and obtained a very honourable capitulation.

The Cardinal with equal diligence informed the Duke of Rohan of this circumstance; and, at the same time, sent him word, that he might yet treat for himself, or for a general peace; but that, if things went much farther, he would expose himself and the Protestants to utter ruin. The Duke of Rohan, being convinced that this remonstrance was but too true, and having received no advantage from his treaty with Spain, resolved to take this advice; but he treated honourably for his whole party, and with the consent of the Assembly. The treaty was signed on the 27th of June, by which the Protestants were restored to their estates, the free exercise of their religion, and all the privileges granted by the edict; only they were stripped of all their cautionary towns; and consequently lost the power of defending themselves. The

Duke of Rohan submits,

A. D.
1629.

Dukes of Rohan and Soubise were pardoned and restored to their estates. The King would not see the former, but, on the contrary, insisted he should quit France for a time ; upon which he retired to Venice ; and, to qualify this exile, he was gratified with a large sum of money. The King returned to Paris, and the Cardinal followed in a short time : but when the Cardinal arrived at Paris, he found the Court in the utmost confusion, and himself in such a situation, that, the day after his arrival, he desired the King's leave to resign his employments : which the King refused.

When the Duke of Savoy saw the King involved in a war with the Hugonots, he thought that a proper time to dispossess the Duke of Mantua of his territory ; and therefore, in conjunction with the Emperor and the King of Spain, he renewed the war, and besieged Casal again. In this state of things France had no remedy but that which had been before applied, of sending an army again over the Alps without delay. The urgency of affairs being so great, the King, by letters patent, declared Cardinal Richelieu his principal minister. He had been long so, in effect ; but as this influence seemed to arise from his quality of Cardinal, the King thought fit, by those letters patent, to attribute it to his person, and to style him therein, not first minister, which might have been referred to precedence, but his principal minister with regard to his confidence. As it was

A. D.
1629.

was determined that he should command the army, he was, by letters patent, created the King's Lieutenant-General, representing his person, with power to receive ambassadors, to give them audience, to make and receive propositions, and finally conclude, as if the King himself was present and assenting. Under him commanded the Marshals Crequi, de la Force, Bassompierre, and Schomberg. To distinguish him from these, and indeed from all other generals, the sounding title of Generalissimo was invented, and, for the same reason, the title of Eminence was given by brief to Cardinals, by Pope Urban the Eighth, who were before styled Most Illustrious. Thus clothed with greater authority, and graced with higher titles than any subject he ever received, he proceeded directly to Lyons, and rejecting some propositions that were made him, he continued his march, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, and, in the month of February, arrived at Suza, with twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. He summoned the Duke of Savoy to execute the treaty concluded the year before, that is, to grant a free passage, to furnish subsistence, and to join a body of troops with those of the King, in order to march to the relief of the Duke of Mantua. The Duke of Savoy concerted his measures badly: finding he could not oppose the Cardinal, he was glad to retire hastily to Turin, where the Cardinal did not let him long rest, cau-

A. D.
1629.



sing his artillery to take the same route, and marching in person, at the head of his forces, towards that city; but having obliged the Duke to take all necessary precautions against a siege, he very unexpectedly invested the important place of Pignerol, which he took in two days, by which means a direct road was open from Dauphiné into Italy. This great conquest did the Cardinal as much honour this year as the relief of Casal had done the last. It augmented the King's confidence in him, and discouraged his enemies, who, though they were numerous and potent, supported by the Queen-Regent, as well as the Queen-Mother, yet durst not avow their sentiments. While the Cardinal was thus successful in the field, he had a treaty upon the carpet at Ratisbon, that, if any thing happened amiss, he might procure restitution by negociation: but the most important negotiations were those of Signor Julio Mazarine, who now first appeared on the theatre of the world, in the character of a priest and a politician (for he had appeared some time before in that of a captain of horse), were more useful: he procured a kind of suspension of arms, upon condition that Casal

First appearance of Mazarine.

Casal taken.

should be surrendered, in case it was not relieved by the middle of October. What was still more advantageous for the Cardinal's views, was the death of the Duke of Savoy, which deprived the Spaniards of their most faithful ally. But, notwithstanding all these favourable incidents, he had still

great

great difficulties to overcome: the Duke of Montmorency had conducted a reinforcement of eight thousand men into Italy. It was become a very difficult thing to march through an enemy's country, to the relief of Casal; however, the three Marshals, de la Force, Schomberg, and Marillac, found themselves obliged to undertake it, and performed it accordingly. In the mean time, the treaty of Ratisbon came to their relief; in which it was agreed that the Emperor should grant the investiture of Mantua to the Duke of Nevers, and, in a fortnight after, hostilities were to cease; but the Spanish army lying still before Casal, and insisting upon the execution of the capitulation before mentioned, Signor Mazarine was again obliged to interpose. He rode between the two armies, when they were ready to charge each other, and at length procured a convention, which put an end to these disputes, and entirely delivered Casal.

A. D.
1629.

At Lyons, the King, on his return to Paris, was attacked with a strange disease; he had a slow fever, which nothing could allay; an extreme depression of the spirits, his belly and stomach swelling in a manner that amazed and confounded his physicians, who very positively pronounced that he could not live long; the Queen-mother and some others thought they had this intelligence a surer way from their astrologers. The Cardinal de Richelieu now found himself in real distress: he was governor of Brouage, a strong place upon the

The Cardinal in danger.

A. D.
1629.

coast; but he knew not how to get thither. He had recourse to Bassompierre, colonel-general of the Swiss, whom he desired to secure that body of troops; but he declined that service. The King then applied to the Marshal Duke de Montmorency. Having sent for him into his closet, he recommended the Cardinal to him with tears; and the Duke promised, in the strongest terms, that he would conduct him safely, through his government, to his own. In the mean time, the King's distemper declared itself; it proved to be an imposthume in the bowels, which nature having discharged by the ordinary passages, he recovered.

Cabals at
Court.

Then broke out the designs of the great cabal against the Cardinal; at the head of which were the two Queens and the Duke of Orleans; and yet, in effect, they were but the instruments of others. The Queen-mother was entirely governed by Vautier her physician, the Princess of Conti, the Duchess of Elbœuf, the Marchioness d'Ornano, the *Garde des Sceaux*, and his brother, the Marshal Marillac. The Countess du Fargis, exquisitely handsome, and the most artful woman in France, made the Queen-consort act as she thought fit; and the Duke of Orleans was always in the hands of his favourites, who took care to inflame him as much as possible, that they might then sell his submission at a higher price. These, supported by the remains of the Spanish faction, filled the King's ears with insinuations against the Cardinal. They affirmed

affirmed that he had seized the reins of government into his own hands; that he had brought the greatest part of the Court to depend upon him; that he was negotiating a match for his niece with the Count de Soissons; and, when this was completed, would probably transfer the crown upon his head. These imputations were urged with such confidence, and repeated by so many persons, and the King was so jealous of his authority, that he sometimes leaned, or seemed to lean, on this side: on the other hand, the Cardinal pressed him to consider by what steps he had recovered his authority out of the hands of the Queen, her favourites, and the princes of the blood; her apparent partiality for her younger son; her evident connexions with the Court of Spain; the incapacity of her creatures to carry on public affairs; and the perplexities into which his Majesty must be plunged, if he ever committed the public affairs into the hands of such persons.

A. D.
1629.

During all these domestic disputes, the Cardinal proceeded with care into public concerns: in the beginning of the year he made a treaty with Sweden, by which an annual subsidy was given to Gustavus Adolphus, of four hundred thousand crowns, in consideration of which he was to act with an army of thirty-six thousand men, in order to facilitate the re-establishment of the Princes of the Empire, who had been abased in their dignities, and despoiled of their estates, by the House of Austria,

130
Treaties
with Sweden
and Bavaria.

A. D.
1630.



Austria. In May the Court of France ratified a treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, to the same intent with that which had been concluded with Sweden.

The Queen-mother broke out into fresh complaints against the Cardinal: the Duke of Orleans carried it farther; he went with a great train to the Cardinal's house, with an intent, as was supposed, to do something extraordinary; but it ended only in vehement reproaches, after which he withdrew from Court. In the month of February, the King engaged the Queen-mother to come to Compiègne, where, after trying all means to soften her, to no purpose, he quitted the place suddenly, leaving her under a guard. The Princess of Conti, the Duchesses of Elbœuf and Lefdiguières, and Madame d'Ornano, were exiled; the Marshal de Bassompierre, and some other persons of distinction, were sent to the Bastille. The Duke of Orleans retired into Lorraine, where he contracted himself to the Princess Margaret, sister of that Duke, directed letters to the Parliament of Paris, in which he declared himself the prosecutor of Cardinal Richelieu. The King, in consequence of this conduct, proceeded to extremities, justified his minister, erected a new court of justice, and took measures to conduct his mother to Florence; but receiving intimation of his design, she made her escape from Compiègne, and retired into Flanders,

Queen-mo-
ther flies to
Flanders.

Flanders, about the middle of July. Towards the close of the year, the King marched into Lorraine, where he compelled the Duke to conclude a treaty on the terms he prescribed, and to expel all who had taken refuge in his territories.

A. D.
1631.

The King, in favour of his minister, erected the lordship of Richelieu, with various other lands and seignories, into a duchy, with a limitation to his heirs general, whether male or female; so that now he was styled the Cardinal Duke. The Queen-mother wrote a letter to the Parliament, in which she charged the Cardinal-Duke, to whom the King had given the government of Bretagne, with aiming at the crown, which had no manner of effect, except that it brought to a dismal catastrophe one of her most faithful servants, the Marshal Marillac, who, by an extraordinary court of justice, was condemned to suffer death for peculation. This step was one of the harshest, and, in the opinion of the world, one of the most unjust things the Cardinal ever did. It was said, to cover it, that, at the instance of the Queen-mother, he had corresponded with the Spaniards, to the prejudice of the King's service; but, out of respect to this Princess, it could not be mentioned in his sentence; as if there was more regard due to Princes than to justice: the truth was, the Cardinal wanted to get rid of him. Upon information that the Duke of Lorraine was assembling forces, the King and the Cardinal marched against him, and reduced several

The Cardinal made a Duke.

A. D.
1631.

ral of his places. When they were on the point of investing Nancy, he concluded a treaty at Li-verdun.

During the time the King was in Lorraine, the Duke of Orleans, with about fifteen hundred Flemish, Italian, and Spanish horse, and five hundred French, miserably equipped, entered Burgundy, where he published a manifesto, in which he styled himself the King's Lieutenant, requiring all good Frenchmen to fall upon Cardinal Richelieu, as a disturber of the public peace, and as a traitor to the King, his family and kingdom. He summoned Dijon to open her gates; and, because this was not done, he burnt the suburbs: Marshal de la Force following him with a small army, he was compelled to pass into Auvergne, and from thence he penetrated into Languedoc, with Marshal Scomberg at his heels. There the Marshal Duke de Montmorency, the last of that illustrious family, received him with the honour due to his birth; and having drawn together the clergy, nobility, and gentry, who depended upon him, at Pezenas, styled them the States of Languedoc, and declared, in harsh terms, against the Cardinal. On the other hand, the Parliament of Thoulouse declared him and them rebels. He quickly assembled ten or eleven thousand men, and with them turned upon Marshal Schomberg, who had not above four. This General took possession of a strong camp, near the village of Castelnaudari, where, on
the

the 1st of September, he was attacked by the Duke of Montmorency, who behaved like a hero, but very unlike an officer. He attacked the entrenchments with horse, without waiting for his foot; he carried them purely by the courage which his example inspired; but attempting to push his success, the best part of the gentlemen who were with him were slain; and his horse being killed, and himself covered with wounds, he was taken prisoner. On the news of his misfortune the infantry disbanded: Monsieur, with the poor remains of horse, fled to Beziers; there he treated for an accommodation, and concluded it, obtaining pardon for himself, his domestics, and the Duke d'Elbœuf. He promised not to remove a league from the place which should be assigned him for his residence without leave, and that he would sincerely love and esteem the Cardinal Richelieu.

The King caused the process of Montmorency to be made before commissaries, of whom the Keeper of the Seals, Monsieur de l'Aubestine de Châteauneuf was the chief. As an ecclesiastic he was obliged to obtain a dispensation from Rome, for being present at a trial where life was in danger; but we know not where he obtained a dispensation to sit in judgment upon a Lord, to whose father he had been a page. The Duke, by this court, was condemned as guilty of high treason; and, though all France interposed to save him, he lost his head at Thoulouse on the 30th of October. He

A. D.
1631.

Montmo-
rency be-
headed.

was

A. D.
1631.

was in his person one of the most beautiful, from his conduct the most amiable, as well as by his birth the most noble in that country. He died with equal courage and piety, firm without fierceness, humble without fear; he directed his confessor to ask pardon of Cardinal Richelieu.

CHAPTER LXII.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.

Double league for religion—New Parliament at Metz—War between France and Lorrain—Changes at Court—Duke of Lorrain resigns to his brother—Swedes defeated at Norlingen—Marriage of the Duke of Orleans declared to be a rape—War with Spain—The Italian league—Duke of Orleans dissatisfied—War continued—Plot against the Cardinal—Progress of the war—Italian league dissolved—Campaign in the Low Countries—The Cardinal succeeds against his enemies—Progress of the war—Birth of the Dauphin—Affairs of Piedmont—War with Spain—The Cardinal's power—Insurrection in Normandy—Spanish fleet defeated—Arras taken—Measures against Spain—End of the Campaign—Campaign in Catalonia—Treaty with Lorrain and Portugal—War of Sedan—Campaign in the Low Countries—Good fortune of the Cardinal—Campaign of Perpignan—Monsieur le Grand and Monsieur de Thou arrested and beheaded—Death of Cardinal Richelieu—Despotism of the King—Death of Lewis XIII.

THE many disputes which had lately happened concerning religion occasioned two leagues of Princes to be formed; each for the support of their

their own system of faith—one Catholic, the other Protestant. The former consisted of the Emperor, the Electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, the Elector of Bavaria, the Spiritual Princes in general, and a few of the Secular. The latter consisted of the Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Palatine; the Dukes of Brunswick, Wirtemberg, Mecklenburgh, and Pomerania; the Landgrave of Hesse, and the majority of the rich trading cities. However, the Catholic League being so much superior, the Protestants must have been crushed, if Gustavus, King of Sweden, had not been brought to act so powerfully, that the face of affairs was thereby entirely changed. Richelieu was an enemy to the Protestants in France, but in Germany he wished to encourage them in every opposition to the House of Austria: for this purpose it was that he had engaged Sweden by the subsidiary treaty already mentioned. Gustavus checked the Imperial Eagle; and although he very shortly died, yet the alliance with Sweden was not dissolved by that event; the war was carried on by the Swedes, with the assistance of the French subsidy: the enemies of France were thereby weakened; the Princes of the Empire became attached to her interests, and she was permitted to extend her dominions to the waters of the Rhine.

A. D.
1631.

Double League for religion.

1632.

At the beginning of the following year, an edict was issued for the creation of a new Parliament

1633.
New Parliament at Metz.

A. D.
1633.

ment at Mentz, which answered at once two great views: in the first place, it brought in a large sum, in ready money, from such as purchased their seats in that parliament; and next, it released the inhabitants of the three bishoprics from having recourse to the Imperial chambers at Spire.

War between
France and
Lorraine.

In the month of June, the Cardinal took the field, with the King, against the Duke of Lorraine, who had frequently given out commissions, and, when he had levied troops, transferred them either to the Imperial or to the Spanish service, without any regard to his last treaty. The King quickly made himself master of St. Mihiel and Luneville; upon which Duke Charles sent his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, to enter once more into a negociation. The King told him plainly, that his resentment arose from his brother's marriage with the Princess Margaret, which was null in itself, for want of having his consent; and therefore he insisted that the Princess should be delivered to him, in order to facilitate the dissolution of the marriage. But the Cardinal, making use of the King's passports, brought his sister out of Nancy, and sent her into Flanders to Monsieur; a circumstance which so provoked the King, that he invested Nancy, and insisted upon having it delivered to him in deposit. The Duke concluded a treaty to this purpose with Cardinal Richelieu, and then revoked it. At length, hoping to prevail upon the King to soften the terms he had prescribed,

he

went to pay him a visit. Lewis, by the advice of Richelieu, under pretence of doing him honour, put a guard upon his person, and forced him to deliver up his capital, which otherwise would not have been an easy conquest.

A. D.
1633.

Changes at
Court.

When the Cardinal returned to Paris, he was so much indisposed as to be once thought at the point of death. It was very natural for many to aim at succeeding him; amongst whom was the Keeper of the Seals, M. de Châteauneuf, who, having an amour with the Duchess of Chevreuse, wrote her a letter, in which he treated the Cardinal's malady in ludicrous terms. Richelieu, whose resentment was as quick and as lasting as that of any minister, not only deprived him of his employment, but sent him prisoner to the castle of Angouleme. He caused the Chevalier du Jars, the intimate friend of that minister, to be sent to the Bastille, and prevailed upon the judges to condemn him on very slight evidence, on a promise that he should not suffer; in which he kept his word, though not till the last moment, a pardon being produced as the executioner was going to execute the sentence. A circumstance that attended this affair will give us an idea of the Court of France at this juncture: Marshal d'Etrees then commanded the army of France in the Electorate of Treves; he was the intimate friend of Châteauneuf and du Jars; he understood, by a private letter, what had happened to them both; he understood, at the same time,

A. D.
1633.

that his two lieutenant-generals had received packets from the Court, though he had none; he took it for granted that he was undone, and fairly ran away. Finding that no such orders were come, he frankly wrote the Cardinal the truth, who, after rallying him in his answer, bid him return to his command.

Duke of
Lorraine re-
sigs to his
brother.

The Duke of Lorraine, finding it impossible to comply with the terms of the treaty of Nancy, flattered himself that he should obtain some ease for his subjects by resigning his dominions to his brother, which he accordingly did; but this step had not the proposed effect. The Cardinal Duke of Lorraine married the Princess Claude, sister to Nicola, his brother's consort; and this marriage so irritated Richelieu, to whose niece he had been a pretender more than a year, that he ordered the Marshal de la Force to invest the new-married couple in Luneville. The place being quickly surrendered, he brought them prisoners to Nancy, where the Duchess Nicola was before. On the 1st of April the Duke and Duchess made their escape, he in the dress of a peasant, and she with a basket on her back. In a little time all the rest of Lorraine was reduced, and treated, in all respects, as a province of France. The States of Holland having broken their negotiation with the Crown of Spain for a truce, the King signed a treaty, on the 15th of April, with them, by which he promised to give them a subsidy of two millions, provided they

they did not conclude either peace or truce with the Spaniards for a year. On the 1st of July, the King, by an edict, directed his geographers to account the first meridian to pass through the Island of Ferro, which is the most western of the Canaries; and at the same time declared all French and Spanish vessels, taken beyond that meridian, good prizes, till such time as those Crowns should open their ports, in both Indies, to all vessels carrying the flag of France.

A. D.
1633.

At Norlingen the Swedes received a check from the Imperial army, which so much changed the face of affairs as to oblige the Cardinal to make a change in his conduct. He had hitherto looked upon it as the greatest policy to make the House of Austria feel all the miseries of war from the arms and money of France, without declaring openly against her; but the allies of France, who had long thought otherwise, were compelled, by the present conjuncture of affairs, to speak their sentiments freely. They alledged, that, as France did not declare herself, the Spaniards found themselves at liberty to assist the Imperialists in such a manner as rendered them superior to the allies; that in fact, therefore, this circumstance gave the House of Austria an advantage, as the French would feel, whenever the Protestant Princes in Germany were reduced to make terms, since the Imperialists would throw their whole force into Lorraine, at the same time the Spaniards invaded Picardy. The Car-

Swedes de-
feated at
Norlingen.
1634.

A. D.
1634.

dinal contented himself for the present with renewing the treaty with the Crown of Sweden, the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the rest of the Protestant Princes who still remained in arms; by which he engaged to furnish them with a large sum of money, and, in consideration of another sum, procured from the Swedes Philippsburg and some other places; he stipulated farther, that whenever France should declare war, Alsace should be put into her hands by way of deposit. This treaty was signed at Paris on the 1st of November.

The Cardinal still treated with Monsieur; and the reconciliation was brought very near; notwithstanding which, Monsieur treated with the Spaniards, who promised to furnish him with fifteen thousand men, to make a fresh attempt; but the true design of this alliance was to conceal his negotiation, and to raise his terms with the Cardinal. His Catholic Majesty's ratification, by the shipwreck of the vessel that carried it, on the coast of France, fell by that accident into the Cardinal's hand, and had actually this effect. However, the Parliament, and even an assembly of the clergy of France, declared the Duke of Orleans's marriage null and void, under the pretence that the House of Lorraine had committed a rape upon him; and that the two Dukes had compelled him to marry their sister. On the 8th of October, Monsieur stole away from Brussels, without taking leave

Marriage of
the Duke of
Orleans de-
clared to be
a rape.

leave of his mother and wife, and was very graciously received at Court.

A. D.
1634.

The year opened with a great misfortune—the surprize of Philipsburg by the Imperialists; which, exclusive of its great importance, had cost four hundred thousand crowns to the Swedes; there was in it half that sum in ready money; and the magazines were completed at an immense expence. The Spaniards and the Imperialists had now so visible a superiority, that, in the beginning of February, the King was obliged to conclude a new treaty with the States-General.

War with
Spain.
1635.

The Spaniards had no sooner an account of this treaty, than they formed the project of surprizing Treves, which was executed by the governor of Luxemburgh, who having surprized, and cut in pieces, the French garrison, plundered the Elector's palace, and carried him away prisoner into Flanders, for having put himself under his Most Christian Majesty's protection. The Cardinal took this occasion to declare war, and published a long manifesto, which was quickly answered by the Spaniards.

Agreeably to the treaty with Holland, the French army marched towards Maestricht, to join the Dutch. In their march they met with the Spanish army, consisting of about seventeen thousand men, but so well entrenched, that they were not at all apprehensive of being attacked: but the French, in full spirits, assailed them with such vigour,

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that,

A. D.
1655.

that, in a short time, they were totally defeated, four thousand killed upon the spot, nine hundred taken, together with all their baggage and artillery. This battle was fought at Avein, on the 20th of May. The victorious army marched, without interruption, to Maestricht, where they joined the Prince of Orange, and fell under his command. They attacked Tirlemont, and took it sword in hand. They afterwards invested Louvain, but, through some misunderstanding between their generals, were constrained to raise the siege. On the side of Germany, things were like to go worse; the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg made their peace with the Emperor; and their example was followed by most of the German Princes. The Cardinal practised all his arts to preserve the Swedes, to keep up a diversion.

The Italian
League.

To keep the House of Austria every where employed, the Cardinal projected, and accomplished, the grand league in Italy, into which the Dukes of Savoy, Parma, and Mantua, entered; and to their assistance the Marshal de Crequi marched with sixteen thousand men. Marshal Crequi invested Valence with his forces, to the relief of which the Spanish army marched, under the command of Don Carlo Colonna. The Duke of Savoy went with ill-will to this siege, and with a worse to attack the Spaniards, who were advancing to relieve the place: the Marshal, however, attacked them, before they were entrenched; and, in all probability,

probability, would have defeated them, if he had been properly seconded by the Duke : as he was not, he found himself constrained to retire, and made grievous complaints ; it was suspected that Marshal Thoiras, who had engaged in the service of Savoy, contributed not a little to this check ; but, however, it is very certain, that this misintelligence amongst their Chiefs, ruined the Cardinal's grand design of conquering, in one campaign, the Duchy of Milan, and would have been attended with still worse effects, if it had not been for the success of the Duke of Rohan in the Valteline : there this Nobleman routed the Imperialists, who would otherwise have entered the Duchy of Milan with twenty thousand men ; and, on the 10th of November, he defeated the Spaniards at Morbaigne.

A. D.
1635.

All that had been promised to Monsieur was performed. The King was bent upon dissolving his brother's marriage ; he disclaimed the pretence of a rape by the Princes of Lorraine ; he declared that his marriage was the effect of his choice ; that he made it a point of conscience to adhere to his wife, to whom he remitted five thousand crowns a month ; and showed as much steadiness in this, as he had discovered inconstancy in other affairs.

Duke of
Orleans dis-
satisfied.

In Germany, the Imperialists took Metz, and made an irruption into Burgundy. The King and his Minister were so much alarmed at this invasion,

War con-
tinued.

A. D.
1635.

that it was judged requisite to make a new treaty with the young Queen of Sweden, and another with the Langrave of Hesse, granting them subsidies, in consideration of the forces they were to employ against the common enemy. The Spaniards attacked the kingdom likewise on their side, took and burned St John de Luz, and would have reduced Bayonne, if the Duke de la Valette, taking advantage of their slowness, had not relieved it.

1636.

From the Netherlands the Spaniards invaded Picardy. They forced a passage over the Somme, in spite of the small army commanded by the Count de Soissons, and invested Corbie, in which commanded Monsieur Soyecourt, the King's lieutenant-general of the province, who surrendered in a week, notwithstanding he had a garrison of eighteen hundred men, and the place was reputed strong. The Parisians, seeing the Spaniards within two days march of their gates, fell into the utmost confusion. The King was so much chagrined, that he scarce spoke to the Cardinal, who shut himself up in his palace, not knowing what course to take. In this situation his old friend Bullion, who, by his favour, was at the head of the finances, advised him not only to appear publicly, but to lay aside his guards; "for I (said he), who am ten times more hated than you, traverse all Paris with a couple of footmen only." Richelieu took his advice; and the citizens, taking it for a
mark

A. D.
1636.

mark of confidence, though they had reviled him the day before, applauded his courage, and the populace followed him with loud acclamations. However, this success had no effect upon the King; and his coldness so dispirited the Cardinal, that he communicated to Father Joseph his intention to quit the ministry, in order to provide for his safety: but the cunning capuchin told him, that was not the way to be safe; and that a minister, who had brought the kingdom and himself into danger, ought to employ his thoughts how to bring them out. The Cardinal, upon this hint, laboured assiduously to reinforce the army. He borrowed money on every hand, took a footman from every person who kept two, and a horse from those who kept more than two: he stopped all the new buildings, and sent the carpenters and masons for recruits; he ordered forces from every quarter, and in a little time assembled fifty thousand men; resolved to take the command in person, if the Count de Soissons would have served under him; but that Prince having absolutely rejected the proposition, he gave the command to the Duke of Orleans, supposing those two Princes could not long agree, and that their misunderstanding would afford him a fair opportunity of removing them both, or one of them at least. This was the most dangerous resolution he ever took.

When the King saw his brother at the head of an army, he was so much out of temper, that there was

A. D.
1636.

Plot against
the Cardinal.

was no approaching him. On the other hand, Monsieur and the Count de Soissons, contrary to the Cardinal's expectation, agreed so perfectly well, that, upon comparing their grievances, they came to a resolution of causing the Cardinal to be assassinated, as he sat in council with the King at Amiens. Four of their domestics were appointed to perform this action; and they had the Cardinal entirely in their power; for, on the day fixed, the King went early from the council. Monsieur and the Count held the Cardinal a long time in conversation, the four assassins standing round him ready to dispatch him, if Monsieur had put his hand to his hat, which was to have been the signal: but, on a sudden, the Duke of Orleans left the hall where they were, and went up-stairs: one of them four followed him, and asked him, what he meant? He said his conscience would not permit him to dip his hands in the blood of a cardinal, archbishop, and priest. The Cardinal knew nothing of his danger at the time, but was afterwards informed of it by the Duke de la Valette, who was embarked in the conspiracy. The campaign was short. By the middle of September the Spaniards were obliged to repass the Somme. On the 20th of the same month the Duke of Orleans and the Count de Soissons fled, at eleven o'clock at night, out of Paris, the former to Blois, and the latter to Sedan, the Cardinal causing false intelligence to be given them, that the King intended to arrest them, while,

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with his master, it passed for a kind of conviction of their guilt, that they had retired in this abrupt manner; yet both were treated with lenity.

A. D.
1636.

The Swedes were not very successful in Germany. The Emperor, Ferdinand the Second, dying, France made some difficulty of owning his son Ferdinand the Third, though he had been chosen King of the Romans with the accustomed ceremonies; but, when it was found this example was not either followed or approved by other Princes, France dropped her opposition. On the side of Italy things went on very indifferently. The Duke of Parma being besieged in Placentia, and the French not knowing how to relieve him, he was constrained to accept the terms offered him by Spain. By this event, and by the death of the Dukes of Mantua and Savoy, the Italian League became dissolved.

Italian
League dis-
solved.

On the side of the Low Countries, the Cardinal de la Valette reduced Chateau Cambresis, Bavaï, Maubeuge, and Landrecy, small places, but important by their situation. The Marshal de Chatillon took Yvoi, in the duchy of Luxemburgh; and this being quickly recovered, he invested Damvilliers, which he likewise reduced. The Duke of Longueville took also several places in the Franche Comté. The King was very desirous of taking the field, in order to recover La Capelle; but, according to the report that was made to the Cardinal, this was not so easy or so sure an enterprise

1637.

A. D.
1637.



prise as to venture the Monarch's reputation upon it; yet, in the month of September, the Cardinal de la Valette, after taking the sense of a council of war, resolved to invest it, and became master of it in ten days. The King, though he was sensible of the great importance of this success, was, notwithstanding, displeased that he had not the credit of taking it; upon which, the minister found himself obliged to send for the journal of the campaign, that he might convince his Majesty, that it was not undertaken by his orders, but purely by the advice of the council of war, upon finding the siege of Ayesnes, which he had commanded, impracticable.

The Cardinal succeeds
against his
enemies.

The ill humours of the Duke of Orleans were troublesome; but those of the King were terrible. He seemed at first thoughtful, then melancholy, and at length sullen. His confessor, the famous Father Caussin, a Jesuit, had filled his mind with scruples of conscience, and at length, in resolving them, furnished him with four charges against the minister; namely, that he had driven the Queen-mother into exile, and kept her there without bread; that he had usurped the royal authority in his own person, he having the power, and his Majesty no more than the title, of King; that the people were oppressed with taxes in such a manner that misery was become universal; and that the wealth torn out of the vitals of the people, was consumed in subsidies to heretics, such as the Swedes,

A. D.
1637.

Swedes, the Germans, and the Dutch. The King asked him if he could recommend such another minister in point of abilities, which was a circumstance Caussin had never considered, being moved to this enterprize by bigotry rather than ambition: he answered therefore in the negative; but, looking upon himself as commissioned to find out another prime minister, he communicated the whole of what had passed to the Duke of Angouleme, who promised to support him; but knowing the vindictive spirit of one priest, and having no great opinion of the sense of the other, he went directly to the Cardinal, and told him how all things stood. The Cardinal, in consequence of this intelligence, managed things so well with the King, that Father Caussin was that evening arrested, and conveyed to Quimpercorrent, in Bretagne. He had been prevailed upon to undertake this perilous enterprize by Father Monoa, who was confessor to the Duchess-regent of Savoy, the King's sister; and the Cardinal's vengeance reached him the next year, by a positive declaration to the Duchess, that the King could not confide in her, while Father Monoa continued about her person: upon which he was arrested, and sent prisoner to Montmelian.

The Duke of Rohan besieged Rheinfeld, the chief of the forest towns. On the 28th of February, John de Werth forced one of the quarters of his camp, and obliged him to raise the siege. The Duke, having very exact intelligence, re-
turned

1638.
Progress of
the war.

A. D.
1648.

turned on the 3d of March, attacked, and defeated, the Imperial army, took twelve pieces of cannon, and their four generals prisoners. To make his court to the King, John de Werth was sent under an escort to Paris. In the first action the Duke of Rohan was mortally wounded, and died on the 13th of March, in a village belonging to the Canton of Berne. His corpse lies interred at Geneva. The suit of armour he wore was received with great respect by the State of Venice, to whom it was bequeathed. He was little regretted at Court, though one of the greatest men that age produced. The Duke of Weymar afterwards reduced Rheinfeld, Friburg, and Brisac, after having twice defeated the Imperialists. In Italy things wore an indifferent aspect. The Duchess of Savoy was desirous of concluding a defensive league only : the Cardinal, by threatening that the King would abandon her, obliged her to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with France. The Spaniards having invested Brenca, Marshal Crequi, going to reconnoitre his lines, was killed by a cannon-ball. The Cardinal de la Valette was sent to command in his stead, but could not prevent the taking Vercell, and remained afterwards on the defensive.

On the side of Spain, it was resolved to act offensively. The Prince of Condé laid siege to Fontarabia. The Archbishop of Bourdeaux, who had orders to second him with a fleet, defeated that
of

A. D.
1638.

of Spain, which was composed of fourteen galleons and four frigates; one only of the latter escaped; the rest were either taken or sunk; and, on board of them, four or five thousand old troops were either burnt or drowned. As this fleet was intended for the relief of Fontarabia, the place was given up for lost, though very gallantly defended. But the Prince of Condé made a strange mistake in abandoning Port Passage, a step which enabled the admiral of Castile to march, with twelve hundred horse and fifteen thousand militia, to the relief of the place. It was in so desperate a state that he put all things to the hazard, and, on the 7th of September, attacked the French in their entrenchments, though their army consisted of nineteen thousand old troops. The officers did their duty; but the first entrenchment being forced, all things fell into confusion: the Prince of Conti and the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, retiring to the fleet, embarked part of the troops, and escaped. The Duke de la Valette, who had been removed from his command, and was at a distance from the army, returned of his own accord, rallied the flying remains of their forces, and made a decent retreat. The Prince, notwithstanding, threw all the blame upon him; and the Duke, who foresaw he should be made a victim, withdrew to England; upon which his process was made, he was condemned to lose his head; and that sentence was publicly executed, in effigy, at the Greve, though

A. D.
1638.

though the president and some others, his judges, protested against it. As the Cardinal had power to depress, even without cause, so he claimed also the prerogative of exalting without merit: his nephew, Monsieur de Pont Courlai, with fifteen French gallies, attacked as many of the Spaniards before Genoa, on the 1st of September, and, with the loss of three of his own, defeated them totally, and took six; by which exploit he gained great reputation, though his personal behaviour did not at all contribute to the victory. These were the dawnings of the French naval power, which this minister had much at heart.

The disputes at Court ran as high as ever this year; and the minister's authority and influence appeared with greater lustre than ever. The Queen-mother went to London, where she prevailed upon the French minister Bellievre, by the recital of her miseries, to write in her behalf. She desired him to acquaint the Cardinal, that, as things were no longer what they were, so her desires were regulated by their present state; that she no longer sought for power, for places of safety, or even the splendour of a Court; that she was willing to submit to his will, and receive from it, in what corner of France he pleased, bread and peace. The Ambassador wrote all she desired in a very pathetic style, but without effect. The Cardinal mortified the reigning Queen almost as severely: he discovered her correspondence with her brother (the Cardinal

Cardinal Infant of Spain), and caused her to be interrogated upon it, by the Chancellor, though she was then with child. Thus questioned, she said, the ties of nature obliged her to love her brother and her country; but that she had never written any thing inconsistent with her duty to the King, or with the affection she owed to France, since the sole end of her correspondence was to procure peace. On the 5th of September she was delivered, at St. Germain en Laye, of her eldest son Lewis, in the twenty-third year of her marriage; an event which filled all France with the greatest joy.

A. D.
1638.

Birth of the
Dauphin.

Duke Bernard, of Weymar, who had hitherto rendered such important services to France, began now to give some trouble to the Cardinal: he was a prince by birth, a soldier by profession; he had learned the art of war under Gustavus Adolphus; but his army was his own, though in the pay of France; it was composed of all nations, but chiefly of Germans. By a secret article in his treaty, Duke Bernard was to have Alsace and a large pension: he was inclined, in the mean time, to keep Brisac, and to form a principality by the conquest of several small places in that neighbourhood. This design did not at all please the Cardinal: he wanted Brisac for France; and he pressed the Duke to come to Paris, that they might confer about the operations of the campaign: but of this journey the Duke would not hear. The

A. D.
1678.

Count de Guebriant had orders to try if he might not be brought to sell Brisac, or to exchange it for the Franche Comté, which, if he could conquer, should be preserved to him at a general peace. The Duke answered, like a soldier, "Monsieur le Comte, to propose to a woman of virtue the sale of her virginity, and to a brave man the purchase of his honour, is the same thing." He sent, however, Major-general Erlach to Paris, to settle the operations of the campaign; and with him the Cardinal agreed, that, if the Duke died, he should have a certain sum for the surrender of Brisac. On the return of that officer, the Duke opened the campaign in January, and prosecuted it with vigour: he took several small places; but, on the 18th of July, he died at Newburgh on the Rhine, after a short illness. There seems to be no doubt that he died by poison; and there is as little that the Cardinal was the author of it.

1639.

Affairs of
Piedmont.

About the middle of March, the Princes of Savoy, that is the Cardinal and Prince Thomas, uncles to the reigning Duke, made a treaty with the Marquis de Leganez, at Vaniero, by which it was stipulated, that the Marquis should put them in possession of the tutelage of their nephew, which they claimed; that they should use their joint endeavours to drive out the French; that such as should open their gates should belong to princes; but that such as were reduced by force of arms should be left in the hands of his Catholic Majesty.

Majesty. In consequence of this treaty, before the end of the month, Chivas was surpris'd, a circumstance which so rais'd the spirits of his party, that Guieres and Montcallier declared for him: Verue and Crescentine submitted soon after. In the beginning of May he reduced Trin, which was very ill defended. These losses oblig'd the Dukes-Regent to conclude, on the 1st of June, a treaty with the King her brother, by which she consented to receive French garrisons into Carmagnola, Savillan, and Querasque, which were to be restor'd upon the conclusion of a peace. Her affairs became worse, when, on the 27th of August, the Princes of Savoy surpris'd Turin so suddenly, that the Dukes had scarce time to escape with her jewels into the citadel. She repaired to Grenoble, to confer with her brother, where Cardinal Richelieu represent'd to her in plain terms, that her own subjects being better affected to the Princes than to herself, and the Spaniards pouring continually fresh troops into her dominions, there was no measure left for her to take with security and honour, but to put Montmelian into her brother's hands, and to send her son the young Duke to Paris, to be educated with the Dauphin. She was press'd to this measure also by the King himself; but wanting words, she answer'd both with tears, and return'd with little other assistance than promises.

A. D.
1639.

War with
Spain.

By the advice of Richelieu, the King resolved to act offensive against Spain; and the Prince of Condé was sent with a considerable body of troops to besiege Salces, while the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, with his fleet, alarmed and insulted the coast. The reasons which he assigned were, that whatever fate attended the Spanish irruptions into France, the subjects of that monarchy were made to believe their master was invincible and terrible to his neighbours; but, if once attacked at home, they would speedily change their sentiments. Salces was taken, after five weeks siege. But the greatest effort was against Hesdin, which the Marquis de la Meilleraie, the Cardinal's near relation, besieged and took, after thirty-eight days open trenches. He received the King standing on the breach, when his Majesty, who leaned on Monsieur de Puysegur's shoulder, took his cane out of that gentleman's hand, and putting it into the hand of the Marquis, "For once (said he) this shall serve for a bâton: Meilleraie, I make you Marshal of France." On the 1st of August, the Marquis de Chatillon took Yvoi in four days, and razed it; and on the 5th of the same month the new Marshal defeated the Spaniards near the river Aa, killed two thousand men, and took three thousand prisoners.

The Cardinal's power.


With respect to domestic affairs, they were such as gave stronger testimonies of the Minister's absolute power, than any which we have yet seen. In the Court of the Queen-consort, Madame de Senecy,

A. D.
1639.

necey, who had the honour of her Majesty's confidence, and who from thence thought it unnecessary to solicit the Cardinal's favour, was removed, without any reason assigned, farther than the King's pleasure; and when, to avoid this mortification, the Queen condescended to apply herself to the Cardinal, he could obtain no other answer than that, since she did him the honour to ask his counsel, the best advice he could give her was to obey the King her husband. After he had forced Madame de la Fayette, who was the King's mistress, into a convent, the King used to divert himself with Madame de Hautefort; with which circumstance the Cardinal grew uneasy, and resolved to supply the King with another favourite, who should render him less suspicious about his mistress: for Lewis did not at all resemble his father; there was no passion in his amours, scarce any thing gallant; and it was indifferent to him whether he indulged this freedom with the sex or not. The person of whom the Cardinal made choice, was Henry d'Effiat, Seigneur de Cinque Mars, the second son of Marshal d'Effiat, who owed his fortune entirely to the Cardinal. This young man was handsome, sprightly, and well-versed in men and books.

The people in Normandy, finding themselves grievously burdened with taxes, the journeymen in the great towns, and the peasants in the villages, assembled together early in the spring, and refused

Insurrection
in Nor-
mandy.
1640.

A. D.
1640.  to pay any taxes. This was called the insurrection des Pieds Nuds, or of *the Naked Feet*. But the singularity lay in the chastisement; the Chancellor Seguier went into the province, as a kind of constable of the long robe, attended by a corps of six thousand regular troops. He began with interdicting the Parliament of Rouen for not proceeding vigorously against the rebels, whom he treated in such a manner, as that no blame of this sort could be fixed upon him. His troops put numbers to the sword; and those who were taken were hanged or broke alive upon the wheel. He declared the privileges of the city forfeited, fined the inhabitants severely, and, in a word, made the people of Normandy understand the spirit of Richelieu's administration. Having re-established peace, by extirpating those who had taken arms, he restored the Parliament to its jurisdiction, and returned to Paris, cursed by the Normans, and honoured by the Cardinal.

Spanish fleet
defeated.

At sea, the French fleet, commanded by the Duke de Breze, defeated the Spaniards before Cadiz, and burnt two of their ships, on the 22d of July. This success was particularly pleasing to the Cardinal, from the nature of the service, and his kindness for him by whom it was performed.

In the Netherlands the King had two armies, one commanded by the Marshal de Chatillon, the other by the Marshal de la Meilleraie. They resolved on the siege of Arras; there were present at this

A. D.
1640.

this siege three Marshals of France, Chaunes, Chatillon, and Meilleraie; and almost all the young Nobility served as volunteers. The Governor was absent when the place was invested, so that the defence was made by Colonel Boyle, an Irish officer in the Spanish service, who did all that could be expected from a gallant officer. The Cardinal Infant, Duke Charles of Lorraine, and General Lamboi, assembled a puissant army for its relief, which they first attempted by cutting off the besiegers provisions. Orders were sent by the Cardinal to Monsieur du Hallier, to escort a great convoy to the camp; but the King, apprehensive that, if his corps should be defeated, the Spaniards would enter the kingdom, sent him orders not to move. Du Hallier doubted; but the menaces of the Cardinal prevailed. He executed his orders with spirit. The Marshals before Arras being apprised of his march, Meilleraie, with three thousand horse and as many foot, was detached to meet him. The Cardinal Infant, seeing this advantage, attacked the French camp with such vigour, that he made himself master of fort Rentzau, and was very near gaining a complete victory, when the troops of Marshal Meilleraie and du Hallier appeared; a circumstance which obliged him to retire, and of consequence the place to surrender on the 9th of August, after thirty-five days open trenches.

A. D.
1640.

On the 21st of September the Queen was delivered of a son, who had, for the present, the title of Duke of Anjou. The Cardinal, apprehensive that her power would increase, laboured to extinguish the memory of past misunderstandings; but his attempt was ineffectual, and the Queen contented herself with general returns, the sense of which were well enough understood by Richelieu, who took all kinds of precaution to be in a condition to support himself in case of the King's death. As he was inclined to put the management of foreign affairs into the hands of Mazarine, he intimated to the Court of Rome that the gratifying this Minister with a hat should be the price of his friendship; and it was accordingly sent him.

Measures
against
Spain.

End of the
campaign.

Campaign
in Catalonia

The Cardinal still continued fixed in his hatred towards Spain. He concerted measures with those officers who were devoted to his service for the invasion of Spain by the Eastern and Western Pyrennees at the same time. But at the close of the campaign, and towards the end of the year, two extraordinary events were extremely favourable to the power of Richelieu; these were, the revolt in Catalonia, and the revolution in Portugal.

The first project of the Catalans, after their revolt, was to render themselves a free state, with the assistance of France; but having been vigorously attacked by the Spaniards, and being very sparingly supplied by the Cardinal, they quickly discovered the impossibility of succeeding in that design,

A. D.
1649.

design; and, if they had been treated with any tolerable degree of lenity, in all probability they would have submitted again to their own sovereign. But the Spaniards having branded the inhabitants of some places, of which they became masters, with hot irons, as if they had been slaves, the people in despair fortified Barcelona, and, by a treaty, submitted themselves to the Crown of France, stipulating only the preservation of their privileges. The Count de la Mothe Houdincourt was sent to their assistance, with five thousand men; and it was he who advised them to fortify the fort of Montjuic, which covered Barcelona. Towards the latter end of March the French had the good fortune to take five men of war and two gallies in the Bay of Roses. About the middle of May the Count de la Mothe became master of Constantin, and several other places, and soon after formed the siege, or rather the blockade of Terragona, in which he shut up the Prince de Bottero, with the best part of the troops the Spaniards had in the province, where they defended themselves with great bravery. The Duke de Ferrendina, who commanded the Spanish gallies, resolved to succour the place, notwithstanding M. Sourdis, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, lay before it with a fleet. He made an effort, on the 4th of July, with forty-one gallies, of which he lost twelve, without any other advantage than that of shewing as much courage and conduct as it was possible

A. D.
1640.

possible for man to exert. However, he did not lose his spirits; but having, with infinite pains, reinforced his fleet, he, on the 20th of August, surprised the Archbishop, destroyed three men of war, and threw a large supply into the place; upon which the Count de la Mothe retired, after he had lain more than three months before it. The Archbishop of Bourdeaux, at his return, found himself disgraced without a hearing. His people on board the fleet mutinied; all the enemies of the Cardinal clamoured aloud, and his friends clamoured louder than they; so that Richelieu found himself obliged to give him up, and the Prelate no sooner landed than he received an order to retire to Carpentras. In September the treaty with the Catalans was ratified; the King swore to observe their privileges, and the Marquis de Breze was named their viceroy. The Cardinal perceiving that it was a thing impossible to support these people effectually without being master of the county of Roussillon, sent orders to the Prince of Condé to invade it with what troops he could collect, who made himself master of Elna, and the Viscount d'Arpajou was sent to block up Perpignan, a place strong in itself, well fortified, which it was resolved should be besieged and reduced in the following year.

Treaty with
Lorraine and
Portugal.

Amongst other strange flights of the Duke of Lorraine, he had taken it into his head to marry the Princess of Cantecroix, though his first wife,
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in whose right he held Lorraine, was yet living. His affairs being in a desperate situation, without money, without dominions, and with a body of hungry troops about him, who made him enemies wherever he came, she persuaded him to treat with France. Accordingly he came, upon the faith of a single passport, to Paris, where he found himself better treated than he had reason to expect; for the Cardinal found, that the seizing of Lorraine had given so bad an impression of France to all the little princes her neighbours, that he was glad of an opportunity to give it him back again, as he did by a treaty, signed at St. Germain en Laye, on the 29th of March. His capital, together with Clermont, Stenay, Jametz, and Dun, were left in the hands of France, by way of deposit, with the Duke's consent that they should be united to the Crown, in case he violated the treaty; he also agreed to the demolition of the fortifications of Marsal, and to allow the Duchess his first wife, a pension of one hundred and twenty thousand livres. On the 2d of April he swore to the performance of this treaty; on the 10th he did homage for the Duchy of Bar, and then returned into his own dominions. The Princess de Cantecroix, who had been the Cardinal's instrument to persuade the Duke to this submission, was exceedingly displeased that no care was taken of her, which indeed was out of the Cardinal's power, as he knew that she could not be mentioned either to the King his master, or to the Court

A. D.
1640.

A. D.
1640.

Court of Rome. On the 1st of June the King concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with John the Fourth, King of Portugal; and, by the interposition of this Court, the States-General, who were invited to become contracting parties in the treaty, concluded in the mean time a truce for ten years with that Prince, which was signed on the 10th of the same month, by which they engaged to act jointly against the Spaniards in the Mediterranean.

War of Sedan.

We have already mentioned (*anno* 1636) the retreat of the Count de Soissons to Sedan, where, under the protection of the Dukes of Bouillon, and Guise, he assembled all the malcontents of the kingdom. The enemies of Cardinal Richelieu affirm, that he compelled these Princes to demand assistance from the Spaniards, that he might have an opportunity of destroying them. They drew up a most outrageous manifesto, in the name of the Count of Soissons, who therein painted the Cardinal's administration in the blackest colours, which possibly might have had some effect, if it had come out in time. The Cardinal sent Marshal Chattillon, with twelve thousand men, to block up the place. On the other hand, General Lamboi, by order of the Cardinal Infant, marched to the assistance of the Princes of Peace, for so the chiefs of the malcontents at Sedan styled themselves. Marshal de Chattillon posted himself in such a manner, that the enemy would have found it difficult

A. D.
1640.

ficult to attack him; but the Cardinal sent him orders to fight at any rate, and his orders were not to be disobeyed. They brought on the battle of Marfee, fought on the 6th of July, in which the Marshal was clearly routed, and his army dispersed; but in the heat of the action, the Count de Soissons was, some way or other, slain. His fate is a mystery which has never been cleared up: however it happened, this gave the advantage of the victory to the vanquished, and M. de Puysegur, going to treat for the exchange of prisoners to Sedan, procured some proposals from the Duke of Bouillon, which brought about a peace. It was retarded a little by the King's obstinacy, in refusing to allow funeral honours to be paid to the corpse of the Count de Soissons; a process had been ordered against his memory, and the Duke of Bouillon absolutely refused to treat, unless this was dropped. The Cardinal told the King, that the Prince was Lewis de Bourbon, as well as he, and that some respect was due to his name as well as his blood. At length things were adjusted; and the King coming in person before Doncheri, which Lamboi had taken after the battle, it was surrendered, and the Duke de Bouillon came to pay his respects to the King. By this treaty the Duke procured an indemnity for all who had followed the party of the Princes, a neutrality for his sovereignty of Sedan, and the restitution of his pensions and appointments. He was extremely well received by
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A. D.
1640.



the King and by the Cardinal, who at his departure made him this compliment; "You have made war like a hero, and peace like a statesman; and, setting aside your having taken arms against your Sovereign, I would rather have the credit you have obtained by the management of this affair, than of all Spinola's achievements." M. de Hallier was immediately ordered to attack Lorraine, the Duke having been embarked in the affair of the Count de Soissons, and no care taken of him in the treaty, so that he was again dispossessed of his dominions.

1741.
Campaign
in the Low
Countries.

Marshal de la Meilleraie invested Aire, one of the most important places in Artois, and took it: but the Spaniards retook it before the year was out.

Good fortune of the
Cardinal.

In the course of this year, the Cardinal married his younger niece, Clara, to the Duke d'Anguien, son to the Prince of Condé; which marriage was celebrated with royal splendor, particularly a splendid ballet, in which were exhibited the glories of France, or, in other words, the triumphs of the minister's administration. It was this match that overcame the patience of the Count de Soissons, who had thereupon assumed the title of first Prince of the Blood, and did not forget this incident in his manifesto. But the Cardinal's good fortune was more remarkable in another circumstance. He had already experienced several conspiracies against his person; but this last was formed against him

him by one who had the least cause to suggest it. This was the King's male favourite, whom the Cardinal had placed in that situation, which hath been already mentioned (anno 1639). Monsieur, the King's only brother, and the Duke of Bouillon, were confederate in the design. They concluded a treaty with the King of Spain, which, if executed, was to have thrown the whole kingdom of France into confusion, though they had no other motive than the destruction of Cardinal Richelieu. This treaty was signed at Madrid in the month of March: and the Cardinal was so fortunate, and so dexterous, as to procure a copy of it; upon which the King's favourite was executed at Lyons; and the Duke of Bouillon purchased his life, by giving up Sedan into the King's hands. Monsieur de Thou, who was also a confederate in the plot, was likewise executed.

A. D.
1641.

Monsieur Le
Grand and
Monsieur
De Thou
arrested and
executed.
1642.

As to Monsieur, his conduct was much of the same stamp as it always had been: he endeavoured to hide himself in Auvergne, and, in the mean time, sent the Abbé de la Riviere to see how things stood; making most humble supplications to the Cardinal, and Monsieur de Chavigni, confessing, and begging pardon, but in general terms; which shewed it was downright fear, which he would have taken for repentance; but they did not part with him so easily. On the contrary, though he had burnt the original treaty, he made a long and ample confession of its contents, and of all the previous

A. D.
1642.

previous and subsequent circumstances that attended it. While the Cardinal was at Tarrafcon, he received the news of the death of the Queen-mother: he shewed a deep concern, and caused a solemn service to be celebrated for her soul. The King's tenderness revived upon the same occasion; and he could not help shewing his sorrow for having been the author of her miseries, who was the author of his birth.

Perpignan
taken.

On the day those unfortunate gentlemen suffered, the Cardinal set out from Lyons, and, at the first stage, not being able to write much, gave his master the state of his affairs in a single line: "Your troops (said he) are in Perpignan, and your enemies in their graves." His actions were all in the same style. He was so ill that he could not rise: he caused a magnificent bed, in which he lay, to be placed in a small room, with a table on one side to hold what he wanted, and a chair on the other for the person who was to converse with him. This huge litter was carried on the shoulders of sixteen or twenty men: he intended to hire peasants; but his guards would not allow them that honour. In this new kind of triumph, he moved by slow journeys towards Paris, entering the towns and houses, where he was to lodge, through the breach, affecting, as he had imitated Alexander in his first exploit of the dyke before Rochelle, to follow him also in his last act,
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by imitating the manner in which he was carried to Babylon.

A. D.
1642.

In the month of October, the Cardinal made a kind of triumphant entry into Paris, though still in a low and languishing condition. Rest, though it gave no hopes of recovery, afforded a kind of temporary relief, in which he resumed the dispatch of business, and his ordinary diversions; so that many of those who were most attached to him began to feed themselves with flattering hopes. He would have the operations of the next campaign settled in the King's presence; but he would not go to St. Germain's, where the King was; he thought the place open and insecure: for this reason he desired the King would remove, and that he would permit him to come, attended by his guards. Through respect for his past services, or through the weakness of his own temper, the King yielded to these demands; but did not listen with the same complaisance to those which he made when he came, and which were indeed very exorbitant. He proscribed four of the King's captains of the guards by name, and insisted they should be dismissed, though he acknowledged their fidelity to the King, but he suspected them to have been friends to Monsieur le Grand, as they had never sought his favour. The King promised him satisfaction; and a few days after the Cardinal sent Monsieur Chavigni to urge the performance of this promise. The King told Monsieur Chavigni, that

A. D.
1642.



the Cardinal had persons about him whom he did not like, and whose dismissal he desired. Upon his requesting to know their names, the King mentioned himself and Monsieur de Noyers, both secretaries of state. Having carried his Majesty's message, he returned with the minister's desire, in writing, to quit his employments ; which the King refused. He directed his captains to sell, but privately signified to them that it was against his will, and promised that, at a proper time, they should receive proper marks of his favour. This was the last, and perhaps the largest, stretch of the Cardinal's power ; for, towards the end of November, his disease became desperate. In the beginning of his ministry he had been at the point of death, with the hæmorrhoids ; of which being cured by a painful operation, the acrid humour in his blood discharged itself on his arm, and being forced from thence by baths and fomentations, fell upon his lungs, and formed two abscesses, of which he died on the 4th of December, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his administration. He bore his malady with invincible patience, and met death with a firmness and serenity that was amazing. The King went twice to comfort him in his last moments ; when the Cardinal, in the most solemn manner, assured him, that he had done nothing but with a view to his Majesty's honour, and the welfare of his kingdom, gave him many counsels of great importance, and recommended to him his relations and his dependents.

Death of
Cardinal
Richelieu.

The

The new year opened with a new prospect: those who had been long tired of the strict and severe conduct of the Cardinal, promised themselves freedom and ease under the reign of Lewis XIII. Some say that the King himself thought in the same manner; that he declared he would have no governor; and that, for the little time he had to live, he would pursue his own sentiments: but others with greater truth assert, that for the short remainder of this reign, the spirit of Richelieu governed the King, as absolutely as he himself had ruled while living. It is, however, very possible, that the King might make such declarations; and it served not a little to confirm them, that the prisoners in the Bastille, such as the Marshals de Vitri and Bassompierre, the Count de Carmail, and many others, were discharged; and the exiles, such as the Duke of Vendosme, and his son the Duke of Beaufort, with many more, were recalled. Nevertheless, the King declared to all the sovereign courts in his own dominions, and to the ministry of foreign Princes, that he meant to make no change in his administration. As a proof of this resolution, Cardinal Mazarine was introduced into the Council the very day on which Richelieu died; and the rest of the ministers were continued. Monsieur, who, by an edict, had been declared incapable of the regency, and deprived of his government, had leave given him to come to court, where, notwithstanding, he was not at all caressed. The

A. D.

1643.

Disposition
of the King.

A. D.
1643.

war was carried on with vigour in Catalonia, where the Spaniards were obliged to raise the siege of Flex, and, soon after, that of Mirabel, by the Marshal de la Mothe Haudincourt.

The King had, for the last four years of his life, been subject to many infirmities, which some think were increased by his frequent journies, and his fatiguing himself beyond the strength of his feeble and delicate constitution. He was more sensible than any body about him, of the decline of his health; a consideration which induced him to think very seriously of settling the government during the minority of his son and successor. His court was divided into two factions, one for the Queen, and the other for Monsieur. Lewis liked neither of them, but he did not hate his Queen; and besides, experience had taught him that affairs could not be in worse hands than those of his brother.

On the 19th of April, the King published the form of the regency, the plan of which had been drawn by Chavigni, and put into order by the Chancellor. According to this declaration, the Queen was appointed sole regent, and had the custody of her children. Monsieur was declared head of the Council, and Lieutenant-General throughout the kingdom; in his absence, this place devolved upon the Prince of Condé; in the absence of both, to Cardinal Mazarine. Bulthillier, sur-intendant of the finances, and his son Chavigni, were of the council, where all was to pass
by

by a plurality of voices. The Queen had the nomination of all officers, except Secretaries of State, for which she was to take the advice of Council. The nomination to benefices was reserved to the Cardinal. After this deed was read, the Queen and Monsieur swore to the observance of it, and next day it was registered in Parliament; a circumstance which, in respect to its authority, was strong in appearance, but weak in effect. - In order to make his brother the more easy, the King gave his entire consent to his marriage with the Princess Margaret of Lorraine, provided it should be solemnized again in France, which order took place, but not till after the King's decease.

A. D.
1643.

The King, having taken these steps, resigned himself with composure to his approaching dissolution, which he met with amazing calmness and fortitude. Seeing the Duke of Beaufort, and some others, whom he thought did not love him, in the room when the declaration for settling the regency was read, he said to one who was near him, "Those people are come to see if I am making haste in my journey." One day, opening the windows of his chamber that looked towards St. Denis, he said, without the least emotion, "Yonder's the place where I shall lodge a great while: my body will be well shaken, for at present the roads are very bad." His distemper was a slow fever, which reduced him to a mere skeleton. One morning he called Monsieur de Pontis to him, and unbuttoning

Death of
Louis XIII.

A. D.
1643.



unbuttoning his shirt shewed him his arms, emaciated to the last degree : “ Here, Pontis (said he) take hold of my hand ; see what arms these are that belong to a King of France.” About two hours before he died, seeing Dr. Seguien, the Queen’s physician, near his bedside, he made a sign to him to approach, then gave him his arms : “ Seguien, (said he) feel my pulse, and tell me how many hours I have yet to live ; but feel it carefully, for I should be glad to know as exactly as possible.” The Doctor, having carefully examined his pulse, told him he thought he might live two or three hours at most. The King then joining both his hands, and looking stedfastly to heaven, said softly, “ Well ! my God, I consent with all my heart.” He deceased on the 14th of May, 1643, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign, dying on the day of his accession.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

